00046336

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
Royal Asiatic Society.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Dr. Rani Karur
on 12 April, 2019

The Old English

of

Bede's Ecclesiastical

of

The English Pe

EDITED

46

WITH A TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTIO

BY

THOMAS MILLER, M.A., PH.D.

FORMERLY FELLOW OF QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, ENGLISH LEKTOR AT GÖTTINGEN UNIVERSITY.

PART I.

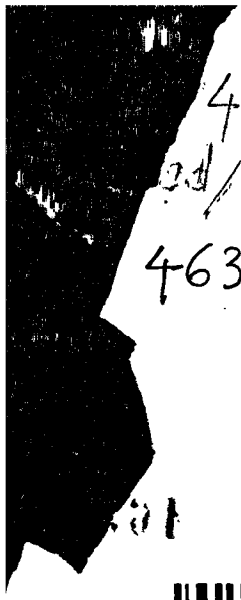
LL m. 72—

LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY,

BY N. TRÜBNER AND CO., 57 AND 59 LUDGATE HILL.

MDCCCXC.



4
46336

00046336

[redacted]

þæt wæs gefylled wæron · his biscophada þæt
he his ondweardlice lif · forlætan sceolde & heonon gewitan
wolde · þa wæs he in [illegible] Cynelstantune · noht feorr
from þære byrig · þe we ær fore sprecende wæron ·
In þæm he hæfde ciricean · & setlan · & his gesiþas wæs ·
þær he gelomlice [illegible] cerde & þær wunade & þonon ·
ferde · gehwyrfde ymb · & þær godcunde lare bodade ·
& lærde · þa was forlogon his gesiþmann teld · þa he untrum wæs ·
onwæs stan þære ciricean fæst · þa gelomp þa he forðferan
sceolde · þæt he getrum þa fyrde · þe is to ciricce mid awreded ·
wæs & on þære stowe ende forðferde · & ymb feowertig
wintra · þæt þe he biscop wæs · on þan dæge · kalendarum
septembrium · lædde mon his lichoman · to Lindesfa
rona ea · & in Broðra lictune wæs bebyrged · þa wæs æft ·

Photo-litho *University Press, Oxford.*

BEDE'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

Ms TANNER 10, page 40b.

PREFACE.

THE first edition of this version was that of Wheelock (Cambridge, 1643). This gives correctly the text of Ca. The second was that of Smith (Cambridge, 1722). It has not been republished since. Wheelock adds a few readings from B. and C. Smith reproduces Ca., correcting a few errors in Wheelock, and introducing good emendations from the other MSS. He gives a very full collation of B., incomplete of T. and O., and very slight of C. As C. was burnt in the fire of 1731, this omission is disastrous.

The present edition was undertaken, while I was studying the syntax of Alfred, for my own use with a view to obtain a correct and uniform text. T. was selected as the basis, and its defects supplemented from B., as belonging to the same recension. The text was completed and written out twice, keeping the original object in view. But after repeated collations and careful study of the MSS., it became evident that Bede was an Anglian and not a West-Saxon work, and that the first necessity was to exhibit a text, representing as far as possible the Anglian archetype. This led me to discard B., and adopt a 'contamination' of texts founded on T. C. O. Ca. in order of preference. The scribe or editor of B.'s text has dealt very freely with his author, changing forms and words

and recasting sentences. That which renders his work interesting to a student of syntax, makes it for dialectical purposes comparatively useless.

The consequent expenditure of time and labour has been very heavy. It was only after considerable hesitation, that I resolved to sacrifice so much that had been already completed. But I look with confidence for the approbation of scholars in the course I have followed. Great pains have been taken to secure a correct text. T. has been collated twice throughout. O. has been collated throughout, and twice in those portions used to supplement T. B. has been collated throughout, and twice at the beginning and end where T. is defective. Smith and Wheelock were collated and the resulting text collated throughout with the MS. Ca. The fragments of C. have been in part collated twice: see the detailed statement under the description of this MS.

All defects of that MS., which for the time forms the basis of the text, have been stated in the critical notes with variants of all the others. In cases of omission, if more than one MS. omits, the fact is stated. A star is affixed to conjectures, a dagger to corrupt portions. Smith's pages and the Latin chapters are given in the margin to facilitate reference from existing Lexicons and other works. The Latin chapters are therefore put at the head of pages: the Roman numerals are copied from the English MSS.

The translation has been made to meet the requirements of the Early English Text Society, who are publishing the work.

My best thanks are due to the library authorities of the British Museum, the Bodleian, Cambridge University, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for facilities in consulting MSS. I have also to acknowledge my obligations to Professors Nettleship and Napier, Dr. Neubauer and Mr. Madan, Oxford; to Professor Lumby and Mr. C. J. Clay,

Cambridge, as well as to the Rev. S. S. Lewis, C. C. C., whose untiring courtesy has lightened the labours of many scholars. Messrs. Warner and Bickley have obligingly aided in determining the age of MSS. Dr. A. Schmidt kindly sent me his dissertation, which I have cited in the Introduction. Mr. P. H. Miller, A. R. H. A., gave me information as to illuminated MSS., quoted in the description of T.

The second part will contain full apparatus criticus and glossary, with a conspectus of the dialectical peculiarities of all MSS.

GÖTTINGEN, *July*, 1890.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE

INTRODUCTION . . . . . xiii to lix

Description of MSS. xiii

Sources of the Printed Text xxii

Common origin of MSS. xxiii

Latin Text followed xxiii

Two classes of MSS. xxiv

Connection of T. B. xxv

Connection of C. O. Ca. xxv

Relation between T. B. C. xxvi

on &c. for *and* in O. E. xxvi

„ „ „ in Bede xxvii

in, un, en in O. German xxviii

and in O. Frisian xxviii

ono, &c. in MSS. of Bede xxix

ono not = 'if' xxxi

eno in Blickling Homilies (note) xxxi

heono forms in Northern documents xxxi

(*h*)*ono* sense and usage xxxii

inu &c. in O. German xxxii

eno in Tatian xxxiii

ac interrogative (Anglian) xxxiii

Mercian origin of O. E. Bede xxxiii

in, on oldest English xxxiii

„ „ Kentish (*an*) xxxiv

„ „ Saxon, Saxon-Kentish xxxvi

„ „ Surrey xxxvi

„ „ Northampton xxxvii

INTRODUCTION, *continued*— PAGE

in, on Mercian (Worc., Glouc., Salop) xxxvii
„ „ East Anglia xxxviii
„ „ West-Saxon Literature xxxviii
„ „ local survey xxxix
„ „ Vespasian Psalter xxxix
„ „ Northern Gospels xl
„ „ Durham Ritual xli
„ „ O. E. Bede xlii
O. E. Bede and Vespasian Psalter xliv
„ „ „ date xliv
mid in oldest English xliv
„ in Charters xliv
„ Kentish Glosses xlv
„ West-Saxon literature xlv
„ Blickling Homilies xlv
„ Vespasian Psalter xlv
„ Northern Gospels xlvi
„ Durham Ritual xlvi
„ in poetry xlvi
„ in O. E. Bede xlvii
„ MS. T. full statistics xlviii
„ form of preposition xlviii
„ Bede and V. P. correspond xlviii
„ decay of xlviii
O. E. Bede not West-Saxon xlix
leoran in Bede xlix
leort „ „ l
Notable words in Bede l
Grammatical notes li
Syntactical notes liii
Text of T.—scribes 2, 5 liii
A, O, before nasals in T. liv
„ „ „ „ V. P. liv
„ „ „ „ Rushworth liv
„ „ „ „ Kentish liv
„ „ „ „ Chad lv
„ „ „ „ Layamon lv

INTRODUCTION, *continued*— PAGE

A before *L* and consonant in T. &c. lv

„ „ „ „ in Charters (note) lv

Alfred and O. E. Bede lvi

West-Saxon Genealogy lvi

Mercian Scholars lvii

Scots in O. E. Bede lvii

Later notices of O. E. Bede lviii

Lichfield the birthplace of O. E. Bede lix

TEXT AND TRANSLATION:—

Preface 2

Contents 7

Book I. 24

„ II. 94

„ III. 152

„ IV. 252

„ V. 384

West-Saxon Genealogy 486

ERRATA.

P. 64, l. 18, for *seo* read *se.*
P. 76, l. 20, read *frecernisse.*
P. 85, l. 14, read 'which were sacred among them.'
P. 97, l. 23, for 'peerless' read 'angelical.'
P. 114, add as note to Chap. No. VI, 'erasure in T. No. dubious.'
P. 155, l. 4, for 'eleven' read 'twelve.'
P. 262, l. 19, for *ðy* read *þe.*
P. 310, note to l. 18, for '*seofonteogeðan* Ca.' read 'omitted in Ca.'
P. 321, number of page wrongly printed as 231.
P. 324, l. 23, read *frecernisse.*
P. 358, l. 4, read *neara.*
P. 368, l. 4, read *Ecgferðes.*
P. 372, l. 1, read *swa hwæt.*
P. 393, l. 26, for 'expects' read 'begs.'
P. 417, l. 24, for 'converse with' read 'visit.'

INTRODUCTION.

THERE are four MSS. of this version, and some fragments of a fifth.

T. = Tanner 10 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, size $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is defective at the beginning up to p. 54, 2 (Bk. 1, 16); and at the end from 442, 23 (Bk. 5, 14). Seven leaves have been torn out for sake of the illuminated letters probably, as these latter defects only occur at the beginning of chapters. These gaps may be seen in the table at the end of the description of the MSS. A scrap of one is left (p. 56 note).

T. now contains 138 leaves, among which is reckoned the blank leaf at the end of Book 3. T. was written by five scribes. The hand of the first extends without a break to the end of leaf 100 (352, 29 *gewyrhte*). Leaf 101, and the first five lines of 102, to the end of the chapter (p. 356), are by the second scribe. The rest of 102 is by scribe 1, and extends to *myn-* 358, 30. Then 103 to 113^a (end of Bk. 4) are by scribe 3. Then 113^b to line 13 of 114^a, are by scribe 2, to *Aeðelwald* (386, 5). From *of his* in the same line 13 of MS. to line 17 *beon* (386, 9) the words are written by scribe 1. The rest of 114^a is by scribe 2 (386, 9 *ða* to 386, 17 *medmicel*). The first 12 lines of 114^b to the end of the chapter are by scribe 1 (386, 17 *fæc* to 386, 26). Then 114^b line 13 to 115^b 13 are by scribe 2 (386, 27 to 390, 3 *meahte*). Then 115^b 13 to 124^a is by scribe 4 (390, 4 *swa swa* to 410, 8 *sacerdes*). Then 124^b to 129^b is by scribe 5 (410, 8 *mid ðy* to 424, 29

earmlice). Then 130[a] to end is by scribe 4. The last word is *unwillsumlice* (442, 23).

The scribes differ absolutely in handwriting and to some extent in spelling. The facsimile shows the beautiful hand of scribe 1. It reproduces page 40[b]. The numbers of book and chapter are by a late hand, which has inserted or tampered with the numbering, which, however never was carried out over the MS. I have referred to this in the notes. The first scribe evidently had the direction of the whole: his hand recurs amid the writing of all others, except scribe 4, whose style approximates in the form of letters, but differs completely in their combination, which is loose and diffuse: his longer letters e.g. ð are also utterly unlike. Scribe 2 writes in a sprawling hand with thin strokes. His lines are irregular horizontally. A striking contrast is seen on p. 114[a], where scribe 1 evidently sets him a copy, which he tries to imitate: however he relapses immediately. Scribe 3 writes a rough vigorous hand. At the top of p. 108[b] the first two words are by scribe 1. The work of scribe 3 extends halfway down 113[a] where Book 4 ends. Space was evidently calculated beforehand, for Book 5 (scribe 2) begins on the reverse, without the interposition of a blank leaf, as at the end of Book 3: there is a defect at the beginning of Bks. 3, 4. Scribe 2 was at work on the beginning of Book 5 before scribe 3 had finished, for the latter contracts his lines to avoid writing over the space covered by the long tail of the initial on the reverse. The parchment may have been still damp. The writing of scribe 5 is very rude. Scribe 1 writes a word or two occasionally (124[b] 5, 6; 128[a] 4; 129[a] 20 to 24), but not continuously, and finally dismisses him at the end of five pages. He is the most illiterate of the five.

It appears that in the community where this scribe (No. 1) lived, he could not command the services of any thoroughly competent assistant. His own scholarship and penmanship are of a high order. The facsimile gives a small, but elegant specimen of his powers as an illuminator. His colouring here is delicate. It is often brilliant, and I have traced in places specks of gilding, which has disappeared. There is some resemblance in the facsimile to

the last letter of the second line in the page of facsimiles given in the Durham Ritual (ed. Stevenson). Mr. P. H. Miller, who has made drawings of illuminated West-Saxon MSS. in the British Museum, kindly compared a photograph of the facsimile page, and also a photograph of p. 113^{b} with Irish illuminated MSS. in Dublin (esp. Book of Kells), and pronounces the style to be quite distinct from the Irish type, and of the usual English character. The powers or patience of scribe 1 began to fail early in Book 4. The initial of ch. 11 (p. 294) is ornate but without colour, so is ch. 17 (p. 310), ch. 18 (p. 314), ch. 19 (p. 316). Colour is resumed at the next (p. 324); but the initial IN of the following is plain and uncoloured, and there are no other capitals. Colour is not used again. The first letter of ch. 27 was not written: in the large blank space a small letter has been inserted by a late hand. The same holds of the remaining chapters of Book 4. This fine illumination is not found outside the sphere of scribe 1, and ceases when he stops (p. 358). The beginning of Book 5 shows him at work again, in connection with scribe 2, on an elaborate headpiece, while at the same time scribe 3 was finishing Book 4. It is without colour. The hand is tremulous in some letters inserted among the work of scribe 5 at the foot of page 129^{a} (*l* in *dælde*), and does not recur later. So this for the most part carefully written MS. ends with very inferior or rude workmanship.

Clearly the work cannot have been produced at any populous centre, or in a large monastery where there would have been a choice of trained men. It is clear too from the interlacing of hands, that all the scribes were contemporaries. From the writing most authorities place the MS. about the end of the tenth century. My own judgment favours a somewhat earlier date. There are some medieval Latin glosses by a reader of the MS. who has also used strokes to separate words, which at times resemble accents. The colour of the ink distinguishes his work.

C. = Otho B. XI. British Museum.

"Previous to the fire of 1731 this MS. consisted of 231 leaves. In 1734 Oxley reported it as 'burned,' and Planta says 'Desider-

atur.' A description of its contents when perfect is given by Dr. Smith in his catalogue 1696 and more in detail by Wanley in his Cat. libb. Septentr. apud Hickes, p. 219."

There are now 53 fol., of which 38 are of Bede: the rest belong to the A. S. Chron. etc.

The carefully mounted fragments contain portions of Bk. 3, ch. 7–29 (fol. 1–6); Bk. 4, ch. 11–32 (fol. 7–22); Bk. 5, ch. 1 to end (fol. 22–36). Fols. 37, 38 are out of order: the first is a small fragment of Bk. 5, ch. 3, the second of Bk. 1, ch. 23, 24. The extant leaves are not continuous; and are more or less charred and fragmentary. But 1; 4–10; 15–22; 25–30; 32–36 are fairly legible and perfect. Fortunately 32–36 are continuous and hardly injured, and so can be used to supply in part the defect in T. and O. Other readings are taken from the occasional citations in Wheelock and Smith. There were several scribes employed; but it is difficult to apportion their respective shares. The prevailing hand writes in characters nearly of the same size as the first scribe in T. but with lighter strokes, neatly formed, and growing at times larger, as on leaf 6. The hand changes in character from 35^a, and is less refined, being thicker and stiffer. A corresponding change in spelling will be noticed. This hand continues from 480, 20 *þas þing* to the end.

The MS. belongs to the latter part of the tenth century. Wanley writes of it as follows, when still complete (p. 219): 'Otho B. XI. Codex memb. in fol. min. ex duobus simul compactis constans, in quo continetur, I. Pag. 1. Bædæ Ven. Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum, Saxonicè versa per Ælfredum Regem. Exemplum Antiquum primitus Eccles. B. Mariæ de Suwika. II. Pag. 231 Chronicon Saxonicum à Julio Cæsare, usque ad Ann. Dom. 1001 inclusivè,' etc. etc.

Lists of bishops show that the MS. originated or lay for a long time in the South. 'Suwika' is probably the Priory of Southwyke, Hants (Dugdale Monast. ed. 1846; vi, 243).

B. = 41 Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, $14 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. This MS. is complete and written on 242 leaves (483 pp.). At the end on pp. 483–4, the scribe addresses the reader in six verses: *ic. . . þe ðas bóc áwrat bam handum twam*, etc. On

pp. 484–8 follows a homily in a later hand. Then on p. 488 an inscription (Latin and English) stating that the book is a gift of bishop Leofric to St. Peter's Church, Exeter. The English runs *Đas boc gef leofric b into scē petres mynstre on excancestre þær se bisceopstol is for sawle alisednysse 7 gif hig hwa ut ætbrede god hine fordo on þære ecn. . . . e.* This is similar to the inscription at the end of 'Leofric's Book of the Gospels' in the University Library, Cambridge (Ii. 2. 11), a MS. written in large elegant characters. Those in B. are somewhat larger and less refined. Similar inscriptions are to be found in two MSS. in the Bodleian: see Wanley, p. 81 and p. 83. The Bede is not however mentioned among the books contained in the list of Leofric's benefactions which is to be found in the Codex Exoniensis and elsewhere. (Earle, Land Charters and Saxonic Documents. Oxford, 1888, p. 249; Wanley, p. 80.)

Still we may fairly take the inscription as fixing the date of the MS. about the time of the Conquest. Some points in language also indicate a southern origin. Apparently the scribe at the end claims to have written it all himself. The first page is certainly in a quite different hand. Besides the letters on p. 484 are $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch in height, while those on p. 1 are only half as large. Again, those on p. 163 are just a little larger than those on p. 1, and the hand is smaller between pp. 107 and 204 (though not continuously) while resembling the larger hand in style. There were then certainly two scribes and perhaps a third. The general hand is fine and bold, rougher at first but improving as the book goes on. This book contains a variety of other matter of interest written on the wide margins. Wanley describes the contents fully, p. 114 sqq.

O. = Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 279, size $10\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. This MS. contains 161 leaves. It is defective at beginning and end, up to *ealand* Bk. 1, 25 and after *æt nyhstan* Bk. 5, 19 (p. 56, 28; p. 462, 4). No other leaves are missing, but the MS. is copied from an original in which two or more folios were lost; for the text on 11^b runs continuously, *onfengon frā his sylfes* Bk. 2, 5, 7 (see notes, pp. 110, 118). The omission is equal to three folios of O. The same omission is found in Ca. In neither MS.

is any notice taken of the defect. O. exhibits a great variety of hands. The writing changes at times more than once in a page, even abruptly in the middle of a word, e. g. on 43[a] the syllable *wór* is written in one, *ulde* in another hand. The general character of the writing is firm and fine, with letters taller than those of T. Occasionally it is very elegant and skilful. Again it falls off and the strokes are weaker and more rounded; this is notably the case towards the end. The fine MS. is defaced with erasures, interlineations and marginal additions. Some of the erasures deserve especial notice. One of the most usual substitutes in erasures is *y* written with two straight strokes, with and without the dot (the dotted *y*, is avoided in T.). This occurs e. g. in *nydðearflicor, yrfe, gymenne, œtycnesse, gehylde.* The Vespasian Psalter has *ned, erfe, gemnis, otecan, gehælde.* Early W. Saxon has *ie* in these cases. *I* appears in erasures in *gerihte* (verb) *edniwunge* (with blank after *i*). The V. P. has *geedneowad, reht.* Early W. Saxon has *ie.* In all these instances the erasure is unquestionable; in some, remains of an *e* are traceable. Other erasures are *leafnesse, ea,* written above; *wiðerweárde, e* on erasure of *o* and *a* above; *forgefan* appears with *a* written above, then imperfectly erased and *y* written on the erasure; but *e* left untouched. *ðara* occurs with erasure of *e* after *ð*; *weorca* is written with *o* above the line (V. P. *werc*). These erasures are not carried out consistently, e. g. *ned, need, rehte, wiþerword, niowan* occur. The important point to notice is that the later W. Saxon forms replace Anglian, not early W. Saxon vowels.

A striking example of erasure occurs on 59[b] *ðyssum* (Bk. 3, 29, p. 248, 3), where *y* is on an erasure but the remains of a curve attached to *s* show that *a* stood originally. So T. scribe 5 has *Þassum* 422, 19, which is also in Z's fragments. The form seems Northern, e. g. Mt. 26, 29 (L). Another is *yrmþum* where erased *e* has been partially utilised to form *y* with the top turned horizontally to the right (a frequent form in C. but not in O.).

For the form see discussion in Bosworth's Orosius, p. xviii.

Clearly this MS. was written in a flourishing community, where there was an abundance of trained scribes, relieving one another frequently at the desk occasionally for a few lines only. For such

a monastery we should most naturally look in the south of England. The evidence of the erasures taken in conjunction with the forms left untouched show us southern scribes at work with an Anglian original before them. This fitful correction may have been spread over a considerable time, for some of the corrections do not resemble the readings in Ca. But there is no doubt from evidence of hand and colour of ink, that many are of the same date as the original writing. Some of the marginal additions and interlineations are in a different hand and may be due to comparison with another text. That no thorough revision, or comparison with the Latin, was attempted is shown by the occurrence of the unnoticed defect in Bk. 2, chap. 5–7.

Ca.=Kk. 3, 18. Cambridge University Library: size $12\frac{5}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$. This MS. is written on 97 leaves ending on p. 193. There are three blank leaves at the beginning and three at the end, the first and last of all being pasted down in the binding. On the first is written in vermilion a couplet, which is repeated on p. 194.

Historicus quondam fecit me Beda latinum,
Ælfred rex Saxo transtulit ille pius.

On the first page Ælfred is altered roughly into Ælured.

The MS. is complete, exhibiting only the original defect noticed under O. It also contains the W. Saxon genealogy, which is not in B.

Ca. is the only MS. which has page headings (LIBER PRIMUS, etc.) and numbers the chapters (see note p. 24). The numbers in the first book seem to have been tampered with, to bring them into correspondence with the Latin (see note p. 42). Further Ca. does not insert any passage not to be found in O., and faithfully repeats the many omissions due to homoioteleuton (see notes passim). The additions are limited to emendations of O.'s text or change of words. What appears as erasure, interlineation or marginal addition in O. is in its right place in Ca. e. g. 100, 7, *þæt . . . . onlyhtnesse* is at the foot of the page in O. It is possible that some corrections in O. may be due to Ca.: but writing and spelling show that this can only have been rare. A very few emendations in O. seem later, as they have not been adopted in Ca.

For illustration I compare the first page of O. The first words of O. are *ealand tenent.* Ca. writes *ealond tenent* with *t* above *n* (Ca. often has *o* before nasals where O. puts *a*). On same page (1[a]) O. has *ærenddracan,* Ca. inserts the second *d* above: O. has *onbead,* Ca. has *onbead* with *sæde* written above. (Ca. has several English glosses.) Here B. reads *cyðde.* O. has *rice* for original *ece* apparently, Ca. has *rece* with *i* above and dot under *e.*

O. has *hæfde him gegyfen,* Ca. *hæfde, seo wæs him forgifen:* O. has *cyningcynne* (=B.). Ca. has *cynecynna.* These show a copyist at work with a certain independence. That Ca. consulted at intervals another MS. is not impossible, but a thorough revision would have betrayed the defect in Bk. 2, 5–7. This second MS. may have been the source of some glosses, e. g. *endes* is glossed *hiwæs* (196, 19) where B. has *hiwæs.* Again the chapter in which the defect begins is numbered V in Ca. but the next number in Ca. is VIII.

Wanley says of this MS. (p. 153) 'circa conquisitionem Angliæ eleganter scriptus.' This would make it coeval with B. I am inclined to place it somewhat later. The whole was written by one scribe in a neat hand. Latin glosses had been written between the lines, in effacing which some accents may have been erased.

Z. = 3 passages published by Professor Zupitza in the Zeitschrift f. deutsches Alterthum, V. 18, 1886, pp. 185–6, under the heading 'Drei alte Excerpta aus Ælfreds Beda.' They are on a leaf of Cott. Domitian A. IX. fol. 100, 'in a hand of the beginning of the 10th century.' Wanley, p. 239 says: 'Domitianus IX. . . . III., Notæ 2 breves de S. Augustino Anglorum Apostolo, ex Beda, ut videtur, desumptæ.'

I. = p. 278, 28, *se nigeða*—280, 6, *geðwæriæ.*

II. = p. 62, 26, *se halga*—62, 30, *breotone.*

III. = p. 104, 12, *Ða*—104, 19, *cyning:*

The initial letters of each piece are ornate and coloured. The only important variant is in 104, 13 where the text runs *gehalgade mellitus ærest on ongelðiode ðone mellitum.* After *gehalgade* there is a small erasure.

Others are:—

62, 29, *in* for *to*.

280, 4, *nœnig*.

280, 4, *forgiefen sie*.

The rest concern spelling only. There are some Anglian forms not in T.'s text. 104, 12 *ðassum* (cp. 422, 19). 280, 3 *dernre*. 280, 4 *rehtlice*. 280, 5 *welle* (cp. 412, 1). The preterite plurals are *siondan, wœron*. We may notice the doubling of vowels in *æteecte, oofre, riime, wiif*. These extracts seem older than any of the MSS. They prove, as far as they go, the faithful transmission of the text. The variations show that the earlier text contained Anglian forms now no longer in the text of T.

In occurs three times, *in breotone, in þære þiode, in ða tid*: and *on* twice, *on ongelðiode, on oofre*. This agrees with T.'s text and usage. In 280, 4 *mid rehtre œ* stands. This dative shows a southern tendency, cp. *forgiefen* = 280, 4 (O. Ca. *rihtre*, B. *rihtum*, T. *rehte*). *O* is used before nasals, *from*; *lond*, 2; *monig*; *ongel*, 2; *ond*; *mon*; *a* is found in *alderburh* = *aldorburg*, T. = *ealdorburhg*. O. = *ealdorburh*, Ca. = *ealandburh* (sic), B. (p. 104, 16).

There are some copies of Caedmon's hymn to be found in the blank spaces of Latin MSS. of the History

(*a*) the Northumbrian version at the end of the Moore MS. Kk. 5, 16, U. Lib. Cam. The wretched writing is in striking contrast to the calligraphy of the MS.

(*b*) MS. Hatton 43, fol. 129 Bodleian, first published by Prof. Napier of Oxford in 'Modern Language notes,' May 1889, who kindly pointed out this passage to me (and *d* also). It begins *nu we sculon*, has *tida* (8), *on foldum* (9), accentuates *ece* once only (in line 8). 11th century hand.

(*c*) MS. Laud 243, Bodleian fol. 82^{b}, copied in Stevenson, 'Church Historians of England. . . . Bede translated,' London 1853. It begins *nu we sceolan*; and reads *eorðe* (5) = T. O. Ca. B. *on folden* (9), *halig scyppend* is at end. 12th century.

(*d*) MS. Bod. 163, fol. 152^{b}, a defaced copy; began *nu we*; reads *tida* (8), *on foldum* (9). 11th century.

(*e*) Wheelock quotes variants from 'T.'

The Latin MSS. in Trinity College, Cambridge, which the librarian, Dr. Sinker, kindly examined for me, contain no English version of the hymn. But the readings of this 'T.' *gehwylc* (3), *ylda* (5), *tida* (8), *on foldum* (9) agree with the remains in (*d*). Of the word before *ælmihtig* only *a* is left in (*d*).

These variants seem to show that the current copies of the hymn were independent of the version of Bede. *We* in the first line has perhaps crept in from these copies. It is wanting in the Moore and Tanner MSS., is inserted above the line in O., and is then found in Ca. B. and the marginal copies.

The Bede Glosses (O. E. T. pp. 123–179) have no relation to the version of Bede. Several in the long list belong to passages omitted in the translation.

SOURCES OF THE PRINTED TEXT.

Where T. is extant, its text is printed; then, as they are extant, in order of preference, the text follows—1, C. 2, O. 3, Ca.

p. 1		54, 2	*sticode*	Ca.
54, 2	*sume*	56, 14	*cweodulra*	T.
56, 14	*monna*	56, 28	*mycel*	Ca.
56, 28	*ealand*	58, 29	*7*	O.
60, 1	*lærdon*	92, 17	*on*	T.
92, 17	*weg*	96, 8	*monige*	O.
96, 8	*cwomon*	132, 32	*heofonum*	T.
134, 1	*þa*	136, 18	*wig*	O.
136, 18	*bedo*	150, 20	*on his*	T.
150, 20	*tide*	152, 22	*hond*	O.
152, 22	*ac*	158, 23	*dæghwamlice*	T.
158, 23	*of*	162, 10	*þæt*	O.
162, 10	*heo*	204, 33	*onfengon*	T.
206, 1	*soðlice*	208, 4	*gelyfde*	O.
208, 5	*þissum*	304, 7	*swa*	T.
304, 7	*micel*	306, 19	*on*	C. O.
306, 19	*feng*	442, 23	*unwillsumlice*	T.
442, 23	*geniþerad*	462, 4	*nyhstan*	O.
462, 4	*ne*	472, 27	*riht*	Ca.
472, 27	*gelyfede*	486, 15	*gemette*	C.

The common origin of all the MSS. is proved by several considerations.

1. The division into chapters, is substantially the same in all MSS.

2. All our MSS. place the Interrogationes at the end of the third book; their translation was perhaps an afterthought. They formed a separate work (libello responsionum) and were written by Pope Gregory (Bk. 2, 1).

3. All agree in placing the appeal to the reader (Praeterea omnes etc.), not as in the Moore MS. at the end of the Praefatio, but at the conclusion of the work, as in MS. Cott. Tib. c. II. 8th century, and several Cambridge MSS. (late). This arrangement I found also in the Hatton MS. 43 (end of 10th century).

It seems that the text followed by the translator was not that of this earliest MS. (M).

Through the kindness of Prof. Lumby and Mr. C. J. Clay of the Pitt Press, Cambridge, I have been able to consult the proof sheets of the first two books of Beda, text of Moore MS. with variants from Cott. Tib. c. II. (L^1.) and from a number of (late) Cambridge MSS.

A comparison of twenty-eight variants showed—

Only one example decidedly favouring M.;

Mox M. omit L^1=*sona* 132, 4.

Four decidedly favour L^1.;

quieta pace L^1. *in pace* M. *on smyltre sibbe* 32, 9.

cotidie L^1. (M. sec. m.) *dæghwamlice* 62, 14.

lenius L^1. *levius* M. *liðelecor* 68, 5.

electus L^1. *effectus* M. *gecoren* 146, 14.

The rest of the variants (except perhaps three) rather favour the text of L^1. That this text was followed is also shown by the omission of *Ricula* and *Aedilberct* in Bk. 2, c. 3=104, 19 (cp. Sweet, O. E. T. p. 132). The same conclusion follows from a comparison of Bk. 4, c. 14. This is contained in M. and 'Cotton. II,' omitted in the English and 'Cotton. I'=L^1. (See Smith p. 157 note.) This variation repeats itself in the later MSS. (Ib.). The two Cotton MSS. come from the same original

(Sweet, Ib.). But the English supports the reading *si mens est* found in both M. and L[1]., Bk. 1, 27 (*initium* in the Hatton MS. is on an erasure) and shows that the translator put a stop after *peccati*, and joined *si mens est in delectatione*, p. 88, 5.

In 178, 22 *gebæte of ateah*, the variation from the Latin is partly explained by the reading *stramine substracto* in another MS. See Baedae H. ed. Holder, p. 312. This fact I owe to Dr. A. Schmidt's careful Dissertation 'Untersuchungen über K. Æ's. Beda—übersetzung,' Berlin, 1889.

4. There are common peculiarities or corruptions found in all MSS., e. g. 2, 18; 2, 20; 36, 6; 70, 24; 180, 17; 286, 33; 286, 1; 306, 20; 310, 5; 314, 11; 326, 6; 332, 24; 336, 19; 358, 2; 372, 11; 372, 31; 394, 24; 400, 21.

A single, but striking exception to this general agreement parts off the MSS. into two classes—

(1) T. B. (2) C. O. Ca.

In Bk. 3, 16–20 the two classes are completely divergent.

(*a*) 202, 9–204, 33 exhibit two different versions.

(*b*) 206, 1–208, 4 are found in C. O. Ca. only.

(*c*) 210, 3–220, 18 are found in T. B. only.

Various suppositions are possible:

(1) A defect in the MS. from which both classes were derived may have been supplied by two different editors.

(2) The defect may have been in one class only. This is contradicted by the facts before us.

(3) Improbable as it may seem, I am inclined to believe that the translator stopped short abruptly. In the story of Aidan, Bede's criticism is soon to take an unfavourable turn (end of c. 17). Reflections on this Scot hero are generally omitted (see below, p. liv.) The break was originally made too early, and prolonged too far.

In the table of contents chapters 17–20 are not noticed (p. 16). This is some presumption against their having been in the original translation. But c. 16 is included in the table of contents. The beginning of the chapter is identical in all MSS. The divergency begins at 202, 9 with the account of the actual miracle, which we are promised at the beginning of the chapter.

This of course supposes a separate supplement by two editors.

(*a*) The version of the first class (T. B.) is simpler: but we find occasionally unusual expressions as *gewyrdledon* (202, 20).

In the other class we have *gepywe wœs* (=*gewuna wœs*, 202, 27), *þe is nemned lindisfarenensis* (=204, 5), *ymb geara fyrstmearc* (=204, 6), also unusual.

(*b*) In the part peculiar to the second class, the unusual expression *midligendes* (C.) was misunderstood by scribes working at O. Ca. (206, 26 notes).

Dr. A. Schmidt (Diss. p. 18) points out that this is the only passage where we find translated the recurring phrase 'a quarta decima usque ad vicesimam lunam,' which marked the difference between the Easter of the Scots and English. This is remarkable, see p. liv.

(*c*) 3, 19 is inferior to 5, 12. It glorifies a foreigner, see p. liv.

The connection of T. and B. is illustrated by common faults. 198, 10; 276, 19, 20; 334, 4; 362, 32; 364, 7; 382, 11; 382, 14; 188, 31; 240, 8. There is one clear example of common omission 170, 19. Here however homoioteleuton may account for the single coincidence. It would seem that the relation was not a close one. B.'s text however has been freely handled, expansions, omissions, and substitutions are very frequent. So the distance of both T. and B. from their common original possibly was not very great: see below the comparison of agreement between T. C. B. Though B. constantly sides with C. O. Ca. against T. in case of omissions by T., there is no real case of an omission common to C. O. Ca. B. (The omission of *wundrigende* 7 432, 29, by O. Ca. B. can hardly be taken into account.)

On the other hand C. O. Ca. are very closely related: for instance by omission in 448, 3 (notes); also in

334, 31 to 336, 2 (7 to *gefealh*).

338, 3 (*þæt* to *sciman*).

358, 25–27 (*mid—þær*).

362, 5, 6 (*life—anum*).

These four coincidences, so near one another, cannot be mere

chance. They prove that C. is only an elder brother in the family to which these three belong.

The relation between T. B. C. is shown by a comparison of readings on pp. 112 and 118 where O. Ca. are defective. In fourteen test cases, B. sides eleven times with T., three with C. The only coincidence of omission is *magon* (118, 2) where B. recasts the text. (Wheelock prints C.)

It follows that T. C. offer independent testimony on any question of reading.

There are some peculiarities in the text which fix the relation of the existing MSS. to the archetype and determine its locality.

ON for AND is Mercian and corresponds to O. H. G. UN, IN, O. Frisian AN.

The form *on* = *ond* is a marked feature in the text. This form *on* (*an*) is occasionally found in old English. The Bewcastle inscription (Sweet, O. E. Texts, p. 124) has the form *ean*; (line 4 *ean kyniq eac*). In the Corpus Gloss (O. E. T.) the Latin *atqueve* is twice glossed, 75 *end suelce*, 238 *on suilce*. (In the first *adqueve* stood originally as in Epinal 98 *adqueve*: hence the double gloss.) The form *an* stands in the Leiden Glosses, 10 (O. E. T. p. 111), *ultro citro: hider an didir*, cp. however Corpus 2148.

In Bede Glosses (O. E. T. p. 182) the form is *ō*. (*ō waele* = *et cladis* 89.)

In Charters O. E. T. Surrey, p. 452, 28 *on*[*d*], may be an instance: but cp. lines, 23, 32, &c. . . . In charter 38 line 10 (Kentish) *d* in *ond* is 'crowded in' (O. E. T. p. 455 note).

The reading in Mt. 27, 19 (Rushworth) is *nawiht þe siæ on þæm sōþfæste gemænes=nihil tibi sit et iusto illi.* Cp. the Corpus MS. (W. Saxon) Mt. 8, 29 *hwæt ys þe 7 us gemæne.* (The Gospel of Nicodemus however uses the construction *gemæne ongen ðisne rihtwisan:* see Toller, s. v. *gemæne.*)

In Orosius 8, 17, *on* is found in both MSS.

In a homily published by Prof. Napier as 'Leben des Chad' in Anglia X. 1888, p. 131 sqq. *on* for *ond* occurs four times (lines 56, 239 bis, 252), twice before *l*, once before *o*, once before *m*.

Prof. Napier, p. 132, points out that the life is taken from Beda Hist. 4, 2, 3; and refers its origin to the first half of the 10th century (p. 139). The MS. belongs to the first half of the 12th century (p. 131).

The resemblance to the English Beda is at times very close. Cp. Chad, 105 sqq.: *sticcemelum him neolecan oð þæt he becom ofer þone hrof þes gebedhuses, in þam se bisceop ceadda wes þæt he ingongende all gefylde 7 in ymbhwyrfte ymbsald*=Beda, p. 264, 24 sqq. See however Anglia, p. 132.

The homily is Anglian (p. 132, 135 sqq.).

An examination of the passages cited in the glossary to Layamon shows that the B. text of Layamon has six examples of *an* 36, 46, 5444, 13211, 25385, 25976. The A. text has two 3690, 25649.

The archetype of the Bede MSS. must have had this form. The text now printed contains sixty-three examples.

(1) In T. there are fifty-three examples; scribe 1 has almost invariably *ō*, the others *on* (as in the other MSS.).

(2) The fragments of C. give four examples (22, 7; 360, 10; 382, 3; 476, 18): (in two of these cases, T. is defective, once has *ond*, once *ac*). See below, p. xxxviii.

(3) O. exhibits *on* twice (426, 18; 446, 12) in both places confused with the preposition. In the second the 7 has been erased and *on* written above; evidently *on* was in the copy before the scribe.

In a third instance (140, 14 see note) both sense and variants show that *on* (conjunction) is alone correct.

(4) Ca. reproduces O. But also where O. is defective we find four examples (6, 4; 22, 7; 30, 25; 38, 24). In three of these it has escaped owing to confusion with the preposition. In 30, 25 it corresponds to *etiam*, and raises the question whether *ond* is ever used='also.'

(5) B. alone preserves the correct reading in 140, 14; B. agrees with Ca. in 6, 4; 30, 25, and with the other MSS. in 426, 18. But in 22, 7 B., as often in cases of difficulty, omits. (*ond life* not in B.)

These discrepancies are reconciled only by assuming that *on* was a peculiarity of the archetype, but was changed where recognised as a conjunction by the scribes.

Even T. trips at times, but may claim to represent the archetype most faithfully. Next to T. comes C.: these two are the two oldest MSS. and are independent witnesses.

I have for clearness everywhere expanded the form. But *on* is an independent form subject to certain laws.

First I take some parallels from Old German, and Old Frisian.

(*a*) Tatian uses *in* for *inti*. (Siever's index gives ten examples, to which add 80, 1 and strike out 231, 3.) Of ten examples two are before vowels, four before *th*, one each before *d*, *m*, *l*, *s*.

(*b*) In the older Physiologus both *un* and *unde* are used. *Un* occurs fifteen times, only once before a consonant (*tac un diu*), *unde* fifty-five times, nine before vowels (Denkmäler deutscher poesie und prosa.. Mullenhoff und Scherer, Berlin, 1873).

(*c*) In Old Frisian *and* with the article *thi* &c., forms *anthi*, *antha*, *anti*, *antes*, *anden*, so also *anquettie*. (See Heyne: Laut- und Flexionslehre der altgermanischen Dialecte, p. 138, and the examples cited in Rieger, Alt- und Angelsäch. Lesebuch, p. 223.)

(*d*) *En* for *ende* occurs once in Heliand 990 (Mon.).

(*e*) I pass over the use of *in* as the almost exclusive form in O.L.G. Psalms. See Heyne (s. v.): Altniederdeutsche Denkmäler.

(*f*) For *en*, *enda* in Norse, see Vigfusson—Gering, Gloss. to poetic Edda—Wilken, Gloss. to prose Edda.

An analysis of sixty-three instances of *on* noticed in Bede shows that (1) five occurs before vowels, (2) eighteen before *h*, (3) twenty before *þ*, (4) nine before *s*, (5) five before *f*, (6) two each before *c*, *w*, (7) one each before *d*, *l*.

As *h* in Old English is so weak (Sweet, H. of E. Sounds, p. 134), we may fairly combine (1) and (2). We then get results in conformity with those obtained from O.H.G. and O. Frisian. In any case the usage in Bede exhibits a law of preference, which we must recognise. The paucity of examples seems to show that in England the use of *on* was local. The evidence cited exhibits it as a Mercian provincialism. (Chad—Layamon.)

(*H*) *ONU is an Anglian form corresponding to O. H. G. INU, ENO.*

The free use of *ono, onu, ona,* is another peculiarity of the version.

It must have been well represented in the archetype. A table will best exhibit the variants. I add the Latin, as it aids us in weighing the evidence, and clears up the meaning of this particle, which has been misunderstood.

Page.	Latin.	T.	B.	C.	O.	Ca.
70, 16	(apodotic)	ono	7	(*defect*)	ono	.
74, 27	nam	ono hwæt	7	„	7	7
76, 1	ergo	ono	.	„	7	7
76, 17	si itaque	ono gif	hu gyf	„	7 gif	7 gif
76, 33	itaque	ono	7	„	7	7
78, 14	si ergo	ono nu	hu nu	„	7 nu	7 nu
78, 19	autem	ono	eala	„	7	7
78, 27	si igitur	ono nu	hwæt nu	„	7 nu	nu
80, 19	si ergo	ono nu nu	eala	„	7 nu nu	7 nu nu
84, 6	et si	ono nu	hu nu	„	7 nu	7 nu
88, 19	si autem	ono gif	hu gif	„	7 gif	7 gif
88, 21	igitur	ono	hu	„	7	7
88, 23	ecce itaque	ono	hu	„	7	7
118, 20	et ergo	onu	7	„	7	7
130, 4	si autem	ono gif	7 gyf	hu	7 nu gif	7 nu gif
132, 24	ecce	ono hwæt	.	(*defect*)	.	.
136, 20	quid plura?	ono hwæt	.	„	ono	.
142, 12	verum	ond	and	„	ono	.
146, 26	at vero	ono hwæt	.	„	ono	.
152, 17	qui (connective)	(*defect*)	hwæt	ond	ono hwæt	.
158, 3	ergo	ono	.	(*defect*)	ono	ond
160, 6	ergo	(*defect*)	ða	„	ono[1]	and
164, 19	igitur	ono	.	„	ono	7
172, 30	ergo	ona	7	„	7 ða	on (*prep.*)
192, 20	ergo	ono	.	„	ono[2]	ða ða
198, 18	qui (connective)	ono	eala	„	ono[1]	and

[1] *no* on erasure.
[2] latter *o* out of *d*.

Page.	Latin.	T.	B.	C.	O.	Ca.
226, 4	igitur	ono	.	(*defect*)	ono	and
238, 27	autem	ono hwæt	.	ond	ono hwæt[1]	hwæt
240, 6	autem	ono þe ða	þa ða	ond	ono ðe ða	ða ða
302, 23	autem	ond ða	7 ða	ond	ono	ða ða
308, 28	ergo	ono	on (*prep.*)	(*defect*)	ono	mid (*prep.*)
322, 31	igitur	ono hwæt	.	,,	ono	ono
336, 21	ergo	ono	hwæt	,,	7	7
338, 8	verum	ono	hwæt	,,	ono	.
360, 19	etiam	ono	.	ond	ono	.
362, 17	ergo	ono	.	ond	ono	ac
364, 14	ergo	ono	.	ond	ono	.
472, 21	(apodotic)	(*defect*)	ond	(*defect*)	(*defect*)	ono

T. has the particle most freely in the Interrogationes (1, 27), where it is in harmony with the turn of style, by which Gregory imparts vivacity to his dialogue. Thirteen out of thirty-eight examples come from this 'libellus.' Now just at this point C. is defective. Still where C. is extant or has been cited, it offers *ond* always except once (*hu*). *Ond* (*and*) is a scribe's ready substitute.

But *ono* was not peculiar to one class of MSS. Its existence in both and in the original is clearly demonstrated by the evidence of O. Ca. B. O. wavers. *Ono* escapes at 70, 16, but is elsewhere in the Interrogationes replaced by the uniform 7. It is impossible to suppose that the translator, who here rises so well to the occasion, should have reduced such a variety of Latin terms to the dead level of a monotonous 'and.' Further on in O., perhaps as the form became familiar, *ono* reappears, once even (302, 23) where T. has *ond*. The hesitation of the scribes is shown by the erasures. Once only, 130, 4, 7 *nu* is used as the equivalent of *onu*, as if the scribe had confused it with $\bar{o}$ (= *on*) + *nu*. The occurrence of this particle in O. so often shows its independence of C.

Ca. has admitted *ono* twice (322, 31 is certain), in the second passage O. is defective. That with O. before him this scribe should not have written *ono* oftener is a striking fact. Twice prepositions

[1] *ono* inserted above line, erasure of 7 (?).

appear, *on, mid.* The words *ono, mid* are readily confounded by the eye.

B. deals with the form characteristically. This scribe, or editor, has a turn for rhetoric and often recasts whole passages. His variety of expressions reproduces forms familiar in the South, as we may see by comparing the Northern and West-Saxon Gospels. He never admits *ono,* but once puts *and,* once *ond* (in the apodosis), once *on* (preposition), where Ca. has *mid.*

It is clear from the table that *ono* never means 'if,' though Bede has been quoted in support of this sense. It is sufficient to point out that, (1) where *si* stands in Latin, *gif* or *nu* are added; (2) that the other MSS. omit *ono*; (3) that *nu* = 'if' is found, e. g. Mt. 7, 11 *nu nu þonne* (R.) = *gif ðonne* (L.) = si ergo; Mt. 10, 25 *nu* (R.) = *gif* (L.) = si.

The scribes were evidently not familiar with the form. Evidence refers it to the Anglian dialect[1].

Twice in the table we see *ono,* where in Latin there is *ecce.* This furnishes us with a link connecting the word with the Northern *heono.* The form *eonu* is cited from the dictionaries, as meaning 'moreover' (see Toller). Foreign analogies support forms, (1) without *h* (O. H. G.), (2) with *h* (Icelandic).

First as to form.

The usual form in the Rushworth Matthew (Farman) is *henu,* which in ch. 2, 1 is altered to *honu* (marginal note). This form *henu* is also in Mk. 1, 2 (still Farman). But in Mk. 16, 6 (Owun) we find *heonu.* In Lk. 13, 6 (R.), and in Jn. 1, 29, 36, 47 (R.) the form is *heono.* In Lk. 23, 14 *ono* is probably due to a defect in the MS.

In the Lindisfarne Mt. *heonu* is usual. In 2, 19; 11, 8; *heono* is altered to *heonu.* But *heono* is found elsewhere in the Lindisfarne Gospels, e. g. Mt. 11, 10; 17, 5; Jn. 1, 29, &c., Lk. 13, 16. In Mt. 1, 20; 2, 11; *heno* occurs, *heona* Mt. 24, 25. In Mt. 12, 47 *heuno* stands.

The Durham Ritual employs mostly *heono.* But *heone* occurs p. 11, 17 (same verse has also *heono*) and p. 107, line 10.

[1] *eno, ana* (?) Blickling H. 237, 4; 241, 3 = 'lo' or 'moreover.'

The form *hona* = 'ecce' is found in a piece published by Cockayne (see Toller, s. v. *heonu*).

This variety supports the identification of the forms in Bede with the Northern *heono*, &c.

Next as to sense.

The Gospels and Ritual use it only in glossing *ecce*. In Mt. the L. glosser uses no other word. Farman is freer, e. g. *henu* vel *her is* vel *sihþe* 1, 23. Again *sihþe* is in 7, 4; 19, 16; 19, 27; 24, 26; alone or as an alternative.

Now the word *sehðe* (*sehde, seððe, sehð*) is the usual gloss in the Vespasian Psalter for *ecce*. We thus have reached a point where the two translations of *ecce* are combined; and on either side of which only one is found (L.; R.; V. P.). In Bede *sehðe* does not occur.

We must now show that the uses both as adverb and interjection are compatible. (1) The West-Saxon Matthew, which does not employ *heonu*, uses *wutodlice, soðlice, nu*, &c., which are equivalent to *autem*, &c. (2) In undoubted exclamations *nu* is used, Mt. 21, 5; 25, 5, &c. (W. S.). (3) Contrast the Glosses in Mt. 12, 47: autem = *þa* R. = uutedlice L. = *soþlice þa*, Corpus. (4) We find the gloss *hæd* [i. e. *hwæt*], vel *uutedlice*. (5) *Hwæt* in MS. B. of Bede stands for *igitur*, &c., and replaces *onu*. (6) B. also uses *eala*, for *autem, ergo* as a particle of transition. (7) In the Blickling Homilies we find *eala soþlice* (31, 1); *eala nu* (85, 14, 29); *eala hu* (161, 31).

Aelfric does not notice these particles *heono, ono*, either in the sections on adverbs or on interjections, in his grammar.

O. H. G. confirms these results. Graff, A. H. S. 1, 300 cites *inu* = num, nam, en, ecce: also *innanu, inno*, &c., &c.: and from Tatian and Notker *eno* = numquid, nonne; also *eno ni*, &c., cp. use of *seno* (Id. 6, 114).

Grimm, Deutsche Gr. 3, 756; 248 connects Gothic *an*, English *heonu*, Icelandic *hananu* with the O. H. G. forms. I may add that the usage *inno ube* in Boethius (ed. Graff, p. 39) is really = *ono gif* in Bede: the apodosis only is interrogative (Boeth. *ib.*). So in Isidorus de Nat. Dom. c. 3; after the refrain Item si, &c., the question begins in the apodosis, and *inu ibu* = *ono gif*.

Inu, &c. are not found in the O. Saxon Heliand.

In Tatian *eno, eno ia, eno ni* are interrogative. But so is *ia* alone; and *eno* stands for autem . . . non (122, 3). So the interrogative force is not inherent. For *ecce* T. uses *seno, seno nu*, but *senu* also = at nunc (Graff, 6, 114).

Onu, heonu are not interrogative; for questions the Anglian dialects employed *ac, ah.* The Corpus Gloss (26, Sweet, O. E. T.) has *sicini: ac ðus.* The Vespasian Psalter has *ah.* The Northern form is also *ah.* Bede has *aċ* 70, 1; *ac ne* 196, 18; *ac ge ne* 268, 25 (this order often in Northern Gospels). West-Saxon Gospels use *hu ne*, e. g. Mt. 13, 56.

In fine we have in (*h*)*onu*, and *ac* (as interrogative) peculiarities, belonging to Northumbria and Mercia, and not used in the Saxon South. The usage would incline us to place the origin of Bede in North Mercia, touching on one side the district of the Rushworth Gospels, on the other that of the Vespasian Psalter.

I pass to the use of *in* and *on* as found in Bede.

The use of these prepositions varies according to locality. I will try to define the local limits of usage, and the course of change with time.

IN, ON exist side by side.

The earliest documents discriminate. I cite Sweet Oldest English Texts.

The Epinal, Erfurt, Corpus, Glosses.

on, an, acc. place where, direction, Ep. Erf. 51, 91; Cp. 121, 246.
motion to surface, Cp. 86 (? O. H. G. *ruorit*, see Graff, 4, 1172–5).
dat. at a place, Erf. 370; Cp. 769.

in, acc. motion into, Cp. 1136.
dat. place in (in curia=*in maethlae*) Ep. Erf. 594; Cp. 1110.
in scipe, Cp. 319.
in bece, Cp. 1148.
in matter of Ep. Erf. 550, 854; Cp. 1112, 1705.
case undetermined, Ep. Erf. 530; Cp. 1091, 1081.

Corpus is Mercian. Epinal and Erfurt, Kentish.

The Ruthwell Cross (p. 125) has *on* twice: *acc.* motion on to (2): *dat.* place where (11).

The Blickling Glosses (p. 122) *acc. on* motion on to (14), *in* motion into (19), *dat. on* place at which, *on* 'during' of circumstances (6).

The Casket (p. 126) maintains the distinction: *in* place where, *dat.* (2), *on* motion on to *acc.* (5, 7).

These documents are earlier than 800 A.D. They exhibit cooperation, without exclusion of either preposition.

The next in time containing examples belong to the latter part of the 9th century (O. E. T. p. 174–9).

These have, at one time or other, been classed with the Kentish documents, and I will consider them along with the certain documents, in order to include all that can be urged as to the use of *in* upon Kentish ground.

ON gradually expels IN:—

(1) The Epinal and Erfurt Glosses. (2) Codex Aureus (O. E. T.). (3) Durham Admonition (O. E. T.). (4) Martyrology (O. E. T.). (5) Kentish Psalm and Hymn (Kluge, A. S. Lesebuch). (6) Satan (Grein, i. 129 sqq.). (7) Charters (O. E. T.). (8) Glosses (Sweet, Reader ii.).

(1) Already considered.

(2) Codex Aureus: *on* twice, *in* twice, *halsiað on noman* (15 *bis*), *in ðære haeðenesse* (7), *in Cristes circan* (10), A.D. 870.

(3) Durham Admonition about 900? (I) Halsunege, *on* seven times; (*a*) three, in adjuration; (*b*) local, *on weorolde*; (*c*) 'in the I case of,' *on eow*; (*d*) 'in accordance with,' two examples. (I) Rubrics, *in* twice, *in husum infalleð* (compound). Skeat identifies I and II by the writing (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1879, 51–2): but some forms in II are Northern.

(4) Martyrology, &c., *on* ten times, *in* eight (including supplied letters, but omitting later supplement).

on motion, direction, 27, 9 (l. *stungen*), 18.
in „ „ 33, 26, 17.
on place, 'at,' 'on,' 28, 48, 51. Gen. 11.
in „ 'at,' 'in,' 13, 14, 18, 37.

on time, 'on,' 11, 39.
on state, circumstances, 51.
in „ „ 50.

The usages of the prepositions approximate here, but the two never exactly coincide.

(5) Kentish Psalm and Hymn (Kluge Angelsächsisches Lesebuch, p. 108–11).

I. Psalm, *an* 4. *on* 10. *in* 6.

Time *on* only. Coincident are *on unrihtum, in synnum* (61); *on ferðe, in ferðe minum* (compare V. P. use of *on heortan* p. xxxvi)

In idioms *on* is more usual: also *in* seems influenced by reminiscences of theological Latin.

II. Hymn *on* nine, *in* once (43), *in fæder wuldre* (Latin influence ?).

(6) Satan (Grein, i. 129 sqq.).

On seventy-four, *in* sixty-two examples.

The usages are often coincident. *on* (*in*) *heofnum, helle, wuldre, wynnum, rice, bendum.* 'Into,' 'towards': *on* (*in*) *middangeard, þone* (*in* is preferred). Time when: *in fyrndagum, on geardagum* (*on* preferred: proportion of all examples *on* : *in* = 7 : 1). *On eorðan* occurs seven times, and is only form. *on eaŕde* once. *On heofnum* seven times, *in heofnum* twice.

Poetry is of course no criterion as to prose usage at a given date.

(7) Charters (O. E. T. Nos. 34–7; 39–44) *on* 27, *an* 12, *in* once (44, 7 sole examples in this charter of either prep.) *in ęc erbe:* we have *on ece œrfe* three times in No. 42 (Kentish); and *in ece erfe* twice in No. 48 (Mercian).

The use of *on* (*an*) is varied and not purely local: e. g.='in': *on byrg* 35, 3; 36, 10; 37, 33.='among': 35, 4; 35, 5; 37, 6. ='at,' 'on': 35, 6; 43, 4.='by' (adjurations): 39, 5 &c.:='in,' of writings: 40, 21.='for' &c. (destination): 39, 15; 42, 3; 42, 16.='with' &c. (circumstances): 37, 9; 41, 21.

The above extend from A. D. 805, to 868, or 888 (Sweet O. E. T. p. 450).

To the above I add some charters from Earle: Land Charters, &c.

P. 53. Charter of Ecgberht (778) eight examples of *on* indicating points of the compass, &c., curiously varied with *be*.

P. 141. The endorsement on No. 44, O. E. T. 'in a somewhat later hand': nine examples of *an*.

P. 152. (Late copy ?) three *an*, one *on*, one *in*.

(8) Kentish Glosses (Sweet, Reader ii.) = later Kentish, twenty-seven examples of *on* as preposition, to which add *on* = contra; *forð on* = in posterum. *In* twice only as adverb (*in ga* 876, 878).

The usage is varied:

place, 'in,' 'on,' 228, 446, &c.

motion, 'to,' 'into,' 227, 981.

time, 134, 255, &c.

state, circumstances, 23, 185, &c.

The later Charters are under West-Saxon influence.

To sum up: if we include everything, *in* is never preponderant in Kent. Original unquestioned documents exclude it. On the other hand, *an* is an undoubted Kentish form, and in some documents the prevailing one (cp. No. 41). The use of *in* is a declining one: even by the end of the 9th century *in* is almost gone.

ON spreads northward.

I take now the remaining Charters.

The earliest Saxon Charter (O. E. T. No. 3, A. D. 778), which gives either preposition, has *in* (only) seven times. Latin influence is shown by 'ad *peadan stigele*' (line 3). It names Bedwin in the line of the N. Downs and comes from the archives of Abingdon. It therefore lies without the purer West-Saxon district. The next (No. 20; 847) exhibits nothing but *on*, *an* (twenty-seven *on*, once *an*). Localities in Wilts and Dorset.

The Saxon-Kentish Charters (25, 26, 28, 29, 30; 843–863) exhibit *on* three, *an* seven times.

A charter in Earle (p. 142, line 17, A. D. 875) gives one example of *an*—Saxon-Kentish.

The great Surrey document (O. E. T. No. 45, 871–889), deals once more with a district beyond the line of the N. Downs and in the Thames district. It has thirteen *on*, seven *an*, five *in*.

This *in* could in strict West Saxon be readily replaced in each case by *on* (lines 31, 32, 41, 51).

From this time on the spread of West Saxon official language affects all documents, as may be seen in Earle (from p. 154 onwards).

The great charter of Eadmund to bishop Ælfric, conveying lands in Northamptonshire on the borders of Warwick, is rich and varied in prepositions. It exhibits *on* thirty times, but no *in*. (A.D. 944, Earle pp. 178–180.)

The earliest Mercian charter with examples is No. 11—*in* twice, A.D. 767—Middlesex.

The two next (47, 48, A.D. 836–840) diverge.

The first—Hanbury, Worcester—has *in* twice, *on* twice: the latter from Wootton, Gloucester, has three *on*, seven *in*—a clear preponderance.

I supplement this paucity of evidence from less trustworthy sources (Earle).

P. 4. Charter of Wulfhere of Mercia, 674? Dilingtun.

Two *on*, two *in* (*in broc*; cp. *on broc*. O. E. T. No. 20 passim).

P. 41. Æthilbald of Mercia to Milred of Worcester, 'a genuine charter' (Earle); *in* (only) five times: four local, one adjuration.

P. 285 (original missing): 'a bad copy of a rare piece' (Earle). Biornwulf of Mercia in council at Cloveshoo: two *in*, three *on*; *in rime* (4); *on scyrhylte* (10); *on Aeðelbaldes dœge* (13, 18); *in ða tiid* (22)

P. 309. A 'secondary' document (MS. of 11th century) of Offa, A.D. 757–775, has nineteen *in*, one *on*, seven *innon*, one *into*.

Junction of Teme and Severn, South Worcester.

P. 310. Another of Offa ('secondary'); eight *on*, four *in*.

Junction of Stour and Avon, North Gloucester, &c.

We may safely assume from these a proportion of *in* to *on*= 2 : 1.

The Mercian-Kentish charters on the other hand (O. E. T. 53, 55, 58) give three *on*, one *in*. The localities are Kentish.

The later Mercian dialect is exhibited in charters given in Sweet,

Reader ii. Nos. 31–44, A.D. 904–1058. Wenlock in Salop, A.D. 901, has *in* only five times (Latin influence). The sum total gives sixty-four *on*, eighteen *in*.

Earle, p. 441, gives a (disputed) charter of Eadgar to Pershore, A.D. 972. Where English and Latin are intermingled we have thirty-seven *in*, eight *on*, one *into*; where the English stands alone, thirty-three *in*, two hundred and twenty *on*, eleven *into*. The examples of *in* occur in groups (local) e.g. p. 446, 18 *sqq.*; p. 448, 5 *sqq.* As this second passage relates to the Teme district, we have strong confirmation of results derived above from Earle, p. 309. Local persistence is strongly marked in Sweet, No. 39. (*in* : *on* = 6 : 2), A.D. 1038. Tappenhall, Worcester.

For East Anglia the evidence is scanty.

The Suffolk charters (Reader ii. 45–47) give nineteen *on*, no example of *in* (*into* thirty-eight times). All late.

The will of bishop Ælfric, about 1038 (Earle, p. 240), has no example of *in*.

The Blickling Homilies contain twenty-eight examples of *in*, eight of which are found in the Homily (No. 11.) which contains the date 971; the majority local.

ON excludes IN in Old Saxon and West Saxon.

I pass to West Saxon literature. Late West Saxon uses *on* exclusively, early West Saxon has a few exceptions.

I note that the Old Saxon Heliand does not use *in* as a preposition, and that its general usage as to *innan* is in conformity with West Saxon.

The Cura Pastoralis contains a solitary instance of *in*. (Sweet, Preface, xxxix. Napier, Anglia, 10, p. 139, who adds that he only found one example in all Ælfric.)

The Orosius has *in* more frequently

(*a*) With Latin names, *in Asiria* (2, 4); *in Meðen* 52, 13, &c., chiefly in early pages, failing towards end, twenty-three examples.

(*b*) Before other proper names *in Estmere* (three examples), *in Denemearce* (one).

(*c*) *In staðe*, 20, 9.

(*b*), (*c*) are in the narrative of the voyages.

There are also nine examples of the adverb *in*.

The desire to exclude is obvious.

Boetius has three examples (2, 4; 2, 13; 64, 31, Cott.), all early in the work.

The Corpus MS. of Anglo Saxon Chronicle has twenty-six examples: place where, fifteen; motion to, eight; time when, three. Twelve examples are with names (eight English), seven with *stowe* or *stede*. Twenty-five are due to first scribe (up to end of 891). The last is in 894. Only three occur in the part covered by Alfred's lifetime (855, 878, 894).

If we compare MS. A. with the other MSS., we find E. preserves *in* seven times, D. three times, B., C., F., each once (381, where all have *in*).

A local survey shows us *in* declining and *on* pushing forward from Wessex. Alfred's Cura Pastoralis is purest. *In* is excluded from the Orosius as the work advances, and still more jealously from the Boetius. It survives in the older Anglo Saxon Chronicle chiefly in formal idioms. The extension of *on* is bounded by the North Downs, even in Alfred's own day, but it has overspread Kent, and flowed up the Severn Valley to Worcester. Rural districts escape right and left, Teme Valley—Avon and Stour Valley—Wotton in the Cotswolds—Tappenhall—and to the North, Wenlock in Salop. But *on* has occupied East Anglia and reached the west border of Northampton. And we shall presently see it gaining ground even further North.

IN is predominant.

I pass to the interlinear versions.

Here the Latin affects the English. This influence is very marked in the Vespasian Psalter and Hymns (O. E. T. pp. 188–420). The first thirteen pages give ninety-eight *in*, seven *on*; pp. 383–394, one hundred *in* and three *on*.

An examination of the eighty-two examples of *on* gave these results. Thirty were temporal, e. g. *on marne*, ten times; *on nælht*, seven times; *on ærmergen*, four; *on efenne*, two. Of the remainder, many were adverbial idioms; *on weg*, three; *on fienge*, four; *on bec* (=retrorsum), twelve; *on heortan* (=corde), thirteen. With an

adjective, as *in alre heortan minre* (=in toto corde meo), both Latin and English have the preposition *in*: except 11, 3; 44, 6; 57, 3.

As a rule when *on* is used there is no Latin preposition. There are some half dozen examples to the contrary: *on eorðan*=in terra, generally *in eorðan*; *on are*=in honore, but also *in are*; *on tid* once=in tempore, generally *in tid*: but *on cuðe tid* (no prep.); *on folcum*=in populis; *on dege*=in die: *onræsað ge on men*, (=*inruitis in homines*), is due to the verb; cp. 58, 4.

The glosser rarely inserts *in* unless authorised by the Latin: e.g. in via hac qua is glossed *in wege ðissum on ðæm*; in die clamavi et nocte=*in dege ic cleopede 7 on næht*[1]. The use of compounds is illustrative: *onælan* mostly, but also *inæleð inaeled*: generally *onhældan*, but *inhæld*=inclina (143, 5). On the other hand *geinbryrde*=conpuncti (34, 16), but *onbryrdnisse* (59, 5).

The Latin Charter Cott. Aug. ii. 3 (Earle, p. 29) was once part of the same MS. (Wanley, p. 258). The grant refers to the valley of the Northern Stour (Worcester and Stafford), and belongs to A. D. 736. It seems natural to place the Psalter in this neighbourhood or an adjoining district. The writing shows an early date (800–850, O. E. T. 184).

IN is still predominant but declining.

The Northern Gospels.

The influence of Latin is here very evident. The glosser begins by a close adherence to the text, and gradually emancipates himself.

The Lindisfarne Matthew.

The first eight chapters give one hundred and thirty one *in*, four *on*. We find *in næht*; *in eferntid*, where there is no preposition in Latin. *On* is only used for *super*, *supra*. On the other *ongann* (4, 17), where R. has *ingann*.

The Rushworth Matthew.

The same eight chapters give one hundred and nineteen *in*, twenty *on*. We find *in* where there is no preposition in Latin, *in innan*= intra (2, 9); *in mode* (2, 3); *in sceat alegde*=desponsata (1, 18); *in gaste* = spiritu (5, 3). The compound *ingann* = coepit; *inbeornað* = accendunt. But *on* corresponds eleven times to Latin

[1] Exceptions: 20, 10; 101, 26.

in; six times to *super, supra*; three times is idiomatic *on niht, on bæclinc, on borg nioma* (= mutuari 5, 42). Indifference is shown by *fellun on hus* (7, 25) *feollon in hus* (7, 27); *on heofune, on eorþe* (6, 10, both in the familiar paternoster), *in h.* 5, 12, 16, &c.; *on scipe, in scipe.*

Take now chapters 22–26 in the same Gospel: the proportion of *on* to *in* has risen to 1 : 5 (about) in L., and to 1 : 2 in R., in round numbers. At the same time an examination of parallel passages in chaps. 9–28 in L. and R. show that L. has fifteen *on* = Latin *in*, and seven *on* for other reasons, while R. has sixty-four *on* = Latin *in*, fifty-two *on* for other reasons. And in L. indifference is again shown in Mt. 26 31, where in ista nocte=*in* vel *on ðasser neht*, while preference is shown in 26, 34 *on ðisser næht*=in hac nocte [1].

Gospel of Saint John.

The Lindisfarne text is glossed by Aldred, the Rushworth by Owun, who copies L. with some changes. Chaps. 1–5; L. has *in*: *on*=5 : 1. R. has *in*: *on*=3 : 1. Chaps. 19–21; the proportion in both is nearly 1 : 1, but *on* is slightly in excess, and the increase extends to various usages.

Indifference is marked, e.g. in chaps. 1–5 after verbs of believing, L. has five *in* and four *on*; R. has four *in* and five *on*; while L. refers *on* with accusative for Latin accusative, but not exclusively.

We should note that 'all the characteristics of the second scribe [Aldred] are more marked from John xix, 4 onwards' (Waring, quoted by Skeat, Preface to John, p. x, note 5). In the English inscription at the end of John there are three *on* and one *in*.

Durham Ritual (ed. Stevenson, with Skeat's collation, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1879, p. 52 *sqq.*).

In twenty-one pages taken at different points the proportion was eleven *in* to four *on*; there was no progressive increase. But pp. 192–199 give twenty *in* and twenty-seven *on*, owing to thirteen repetitions of *on cregesc, on lædin* in eight short lines.

Eighty-seven examples of *on* from pp. 1–107 showed seventy-seven for Latin *in*. Indifference was marked, e.g. four examples of *in diebus illis* give *on, in* each twice: four examples of *in con-*

[1] In parallel passages in Mt. R. has 22 *on* in time phrases, L. 6 *on*.

spectu give *on*, *in* each twice. The Paternoster, p. 172, has *in heof'*, but p. 175 *on heof'*. So 172, v. 2 *in nome*. 172, v. 5. *on nome*. Such glosses occur as *in ondget* vel *on ðoht*; also (102, line 2) in hoc=*on ðas* vel *in ðis*. A good distinction is made in 65, v. 3, as to trees growing *on* mountains, *on* fields, *in* a town, *in* streets. This use of *in* for the narrower circle is seen pp. 195–7. Nomina locorum &c., where *in* is used with *byrig*, *ceaster* and names of towns nine times, *on* only once. On the other hand *on* is used with *mægð*, *earð*, *lond* ten times, *in* with *mægð* three times.

Thus the latter part of the 10th century the date of the Northern documents shows *on* advancing, as compared with the Vespasian Psalter. The remoter North is rather more conservative than South Yorkshire—Harewood. Western Mercia is clearly the stronghold of *in*.

IN predominates in Bede.

I pass to Bede, recalling the fact that T. C. are in date not very remote from the Northern documents.

I take some passages where C. is extant and uninjured.

1. Folio 1 of C.=text 168, 3—170, 12. *þær* to *gebohte*.

T. has eleven *in*, three *on*, exactly corresponding to C., except in 168, 34, where C. has wrongly *ond* [scribe misinterpreting *on*].

O. Ca. have fourteen *on*, one *in* (168, 11).

B. has fourteen *on*, no *in* (168, 13 passage omitted).

2. Fol. 4 of C.=text 236, 6—238, 6 *Mercna*—7.

T. C. have fifteen *in*, two *on* (236, 8, 19).

O. Ca. have sixteen *on*, one *in* (236, 28).

B. has eleven *on*, four *in*, one *to* (236, 32).

3. Folios 19, 20, 21, 22 of C.=text 374, 3–386, 8.

This gives portions from second and third scribes of T.

T. has fifty-three *in*, ten *on*.

C. has fifty-four *in*, six *on*, two passages wanting; once no preposition.

O. has fifty-seven *on*, five *in*, one passage wanting; once no preposition; once *on* inserted.

Ca. has fifty-six *on*, four *in*, one passage wanting; twice no preposition; once *æt*; once *on* inserted.

B. has forty-two *on*, one *an*, fourteen *in*, once *inn*; two passages wanting; once no preposition; once 7; once *to*; once *æt*.

As T. C. belonging to different classes coincide so very closely, we conclude the archetype had *in*. The southern origin of the others accounts for *on*; but O. B. do not agree.

We must now compare the Latin and English (T.).

I. Latin *in* in all places, except (*a*) 168, 8, where *on* represents force of *inibi*; (*b*) 168, 20; 168, 34; where nothing corresponds to *on*; (*c*) 168, 32; 170, 6; 170, 7; where nothing corresponds to *in*.

II. (*a*) *on* twice with nothing in Latin; (*b*) *in* similarly four times.

III. T. C. agree (*a*) in writing *on* without anything in Latin.

(*b*) ,, ,, *on* for Lat. *in*, 378, 21; 384, 19.

(*c*) ,, ,, *on* idiomatic 376, 9; 378, 19; 380, 6; 380, 8; 382, 23; 384, 25.

(*d*) ,, ,, *in* without Latin preposition; 374, 10 (bis); 374, 30; 376, 14; 78, 6; 380, 20; 382, 1; 382, 18; 384, 14.

T. has (*a*) *on*=Latin *in* 374, 22, where C. has *in*.

(*b*) *in* 374, 11, where no Latin preposition. C. omits words.

For 380, 14, see Critical Note.

Further contrast 378, 29 *on his mode* (T. B.) with *in his mode* (C. O. Ca.): again 376, 9 *on ðа tid* all MSS., but 382, 18 *in ðа tid* (T. C. B.), *on ðа tid* (O. Ca.). These minor variations show a certain freedom of usage, such as we have already seen.

In the portion of the First Book contained in T. this MS. has *in*: *on*=8: 1. Of the sixteen examples of *on*, two, *on ærmergen*, *on æfenne* (92, 13), are in harmony with the Vespasian Psalter and Rushworth Matthew: three more occur in the expression *on angelðeode* (*cynne*), which is the usage noted in the fragments of Z. Cp. also usage of Durham Ritual above.

In pp. 410, 8–424, 29 (the portion belonging to scribe 5) we find fifty-two *in*, eight *on*.

We have Bede then, in this point, more in harmony with the

Vespasian Psalter than with any other document. Allowing for lapse of time, and freedom from the influences working on the glosser, we may pronounce the relationship a very close one in this one particular. In point of time also Bede may fairly stand between the date of the V. P. (early 9th century), and the Northern Gospels (end of 10th).

MID with the accusative and dative is Anglian (Norse).

The tribal differences in the use of *mid* are to be found at a time anterior to the settlement in England. The subsequent decay is already traceable in the variations as to syntax, which help to determine the position of the English Bede.

I cite O. E. T. as before.

MID with dative only (or Instrumental).

Epinal, Erfurt, Corpus Glosses have but one example (796=1591) of undetermined case: the usage instrumental.

The Ruthwell Cross gives three examples of the instrumental dative.

The Leiden Riddle has the dative plural of the person in the sense of 'among,' where the Exeter text has *for* (O. E. T.)

The Bede Glosses have instrumental dative once (70).

The Codex Aureus has instrumental case twice, expressing 'means.'

But in the Martyrology the instrumental dative occurs three times, the accusative singular (person accompanying), *mid hine* three times. I omit later supplement.

Local documents.

Kentish charters, thirty examples: seventeen dative, one instrumental case, twelve undetermined. Two of dative personal (38, 8 plural: 41, 5 singular). The rest imply 'means,' &c.

Saxon Kentish charters, dative plural, manner twice, case undetermined once.

The great Surrey document has seven examples: four of dative, two of instrumental, one undetermined, expressing means, &c., none personal.

The early Mercian charters have four examples: two of instrumental, two of dative 'means,' &c.

Later Mercian Charters (Reader ii. p. 198 *sqq.*) have sixteen examples (nine of dative, six undetermined, one dubious). One is

personal. Others express manner, &c. The dubious form is *mid Annanîam 7 Saphîram* (40. 16), which seems to be accusative; if so, it is an isolated example in the charters (cp. 'cum Anna et Zaphira,' Earle, p. 318).

The Suffolk documents (Reader, p. 209 *sqq.*) have twelve examples: six dative, six undetermined, expressing accompaniment, and not strictly personal.

The evidence of the charters is then against the use of *mid* with the accusative. The solitary exception just noticed (personal and singular) is Mercian. But the paucity of personal examples must be recollected, out of sixty-nine only three.

The Kentish Glosses yield only two examples, both dative, both personal, neither pronominal (939 plural: 973 singular).

The West Saxon evidence has been discussed by Professor Napier in Anglia 10, p. 138, who affirms that in genuine West Saxon (C. Pastoralis, Orosius, Boetius, Parker MS. of Anglo Saxon Chronicle up to 891, Ælfric's Homilies and Lives of Saints as far as published) there is no undoubted example of accusative.

The index to the Blickling Homilies cites two examples, *mid mycele mengeo engla*, twice repeated in Homily XIII. The phrase has a poetic colour. I find also *mid God fæder* in the ascription at end of Homilies VIII, p. 105.

MID with accusative and dative (*or Instrumental*).

The Vespasian Psalter and Northern documents have both accusative and dative.

The V. P. and Hymns have 192 examples of *mid* thus distributed: forty-one are undetermined, twenty are instrumental cases (including *mid ðy, mit te*), twenty-five are accusative, one hundred and six are dative.

Of the accusative, eight are *mid mec*; four *mid ðec*; six are *mid hine*; two *mid ðone* (*halgan, nestan*); one *mid dryhten*; one plural *mid usiç*; two instrumental *mid ða swiðran*, one *mid hond* may be accusative or dative also.

The accusative is not only in the minority, but is almost confined to the personal usage with pronouns. Only one example (pronominal) is plural.

Northern Gospels.

A comparison of forty-four examples in L. and R. Matthew gives the following results—there are two extra in L.

L. D. S. person 7, thing 2.
D. P. „ 17, „ 6.
A. S. „ 11, „ 3.

Mið hine five times. No example of accusative plural.

There is a design to exclude it: in Mt. 13. 56 *usih* is altered to *us*.

R. D. S. person 6, thing 4.
D. P. „ 14, „ 2.
Instrumental 1.
A. S. persons 12, „ 2.
A. P. „ 3, „ 0.

Mid hine seven times.

The examples are spread over the Gospel. I have omitted undetermined cases.

The Gospel of Saint John.

Chapters 1–7 and 19–21.

Aldred (L.). D. S. person 3, thing 3.
D. P. „ 3, „ 4.
A. S. „ 12, „ 0.

No example of acc. plural. *Mið hine* six, *mið ðec* two.

Owun (R.) reproduces Aldred with one or two exceptions: see 3, 22 (error); in 6, 66, *mið ðy* is perhaps an error.

Durham Ritual.

Eighty examples give these results:

D. S. person 20, thing 7.
D. P. „ 22, „ 5.
A. S. „ 23, „ 2.
A. P. „ 1 „

The acc. sing., *ðec* occurs twenty-one times, *ðone* once as pronoun, once as article. The other examples are *mið sed* (16, line 8), *mið hæs* (113, 23).

MID with accusative in poetry.

The usage in poetry, though somewhat less limited, is correspondent. Grein, Sprachschatz 2, s. v. *mid*, cites fifty examples

with accusative singular. Of these only six do not imply personal association. Of the accusative plural he gives five examples, of which two are not free from objection (Gen. 2208, Leas. 36). The other three are pronominal: *mid unc twih*; *mid eowic*; *mid usic*.

The Kentish Psalm and Hymn have *mid* four times, no accusative.

Satan has *mid* forty-seven times. Two are accusative of person: *mid þec*; *mid weard*. Two are examples of the phrase *mid his swiðran hond*, which might be dative. But V.P. 97, 1; 107, 7; Heliand 185, favour accusative.

We must remember that Old English poetry is in the main of Anglian origin.

These results, though not so full, are as free from doubt as those derived from *in*, *on*. *Mid* with the accusative is excluded from Wessex, may have existed in Kent, and is just traceable in East Anglia. It is frequent in the West and North, but only under close restrictions.

The usage in Bede (I omit *mid þy*).

First, I take passages I, II, III, dealt with under *in*.

There are in all twenty-three examples, of which four are undetermined. T. has two examples of accusative *mid þa cwene* 236, 7 (here C. has dative, O. Ca. = T.). *mid þa aðle* 378, 23 (C. dative again; O. Ca. have *þa*, above the line in O). On the other hand, T. has instrumental 168, 21 (*þon*), where O. Ca. C. *ðone* accusative. In 376, 22, T. has *mycelre*, C. O. Ca. *micle*. In the nineteen definite examples B. has dative uniformly.

Clearer results are obtained from Bk. I.

The text has forty-seven examples, thus distributed:—

D. S. person	1,	thing	8.
D. P. „	6,	„	7.
A. S. „	3,	„	4.

Instrumental 5. Undetermined 13.

The agreement of T. O. Ca. is absolute, except that in 74, 10, O has *þine* (Ca. *þinre*), a possible slip of the pen. On the other hand, B has (1) accusative once for dative, 54, 28, *godcunde* (a possible slip), (2) five examples of dative replacing accusative, (3) one of dative for instrumental. In 84, 30, B. reads plural *unclænnessum*.

The testimony in favour of the tradition of the text as we have it in T. is again strong. Evidently B. excludes the accusative, but it is found elsewhere in this MS., while the scribe's effort to obliterate it is clearly shown on p. 454, 8 of MS. = 460, 27 of text, where the *m* of *Iohannem* is enclosed with dots, implying that it was to be struck out; but *þone* follows, which, not admitting of ready alteration, is left untouched.

I finally take from T. only the work of scribe 5 (pp. 410, 8–414, 29). Here, out of eighteen examples of *mid*, ten are dative, one instrumental, seven accusative, all *mid hine*. The distinction is striking, 416, 11 *mid hine*; 416, 15 *mid him* (plural); 416, 18 *mid hine*.

These points are remarkable: (1) the use of the accusative singular of person, especially of pronoun, (2) avoidance of plural acc. (In MS. T. we have D. S. p. 39. t. 158. D. P. p. 73. t. 101. A. S. p. 55. A. S. t. 53. A. P. p. 1. Ins. 90. Und. 131).

The form of the preposition is a further test. From the earliest times *miđ*, *mid* coexisted. Epinal, Corpus and Bede Glosses, Ruthwell Cross and two Charters (24, 8; 48, 3) have *miþ*, which is read also in Boetius 2, 2 (ed. Fox). Erfurt Glosses, Codex Aureus, Martyrology and Charters generally have *mid*.

But in the extreme North *miđ* prevails, while in South Yorkshire —Harewood—*mid*, *miđ* are commingled. V. P. has *mid* only, as in Bede. The entire usage of the preposition thus tends once more to link these two together.

The history of this preposition, as it appears in variously modified forms in many languages, is one of shift and change. (1) Sanskrit *smát* is limited and decaying; (2) Greek μετά has three cases in Homer, only one of which holds its ground fully in prose; (3) it is lost in Latin; (4) *miþ* in Gothic has dative only, and tends to limitation (Gabelentz, Gloss.); (5) *mit* (acc.) in O. H. G. is rare; Graff 2, 660; Grimm D., Gr. 4, 707 cite only nine examples; the usage with *sih, dih* corresponds to English; (6) *međ* with accusative in poetic Edda seems limited (Gering, Gloss.; his examples are chiefly personal singular and plural). Cp. also Wilken, Gloss to prose Edda. But in other Icelandic literature the accusative seems freely used (Vigfusson). (7) 2 exx. (acc.) only in Heliand (Cott.).

This comparative testimony, and the history in later English, seem to show that the accusative survived, owing to convenience of distinction (*hine, him*). That verse should also retain the case is in accord with the archaistic tendency of all higher poetry.

It is clear that in the points discussed we are dealing with old-standing differences between the tribes who occupied England. The old Saxon of the Heliand corresponds to the West Saxon of Cura Pastoralis: absences of certain forms and usages mark both. It is absolutely impossible to assume that these barriers of race were suddenly broken down, and that Alfred of Wessex adopted the idiom of a subject Anglian tribe.

I append some rare words from the version. One or two recognised Anglian words also give further comparisons.

Leoran is frequent in the Vespasian Psalter and Northern Gospels.

Page	T.	B.	O. Ca.	C.
144, 7	leorde	—	ferde	forðferde
146, 21	geleorde	gewende	ferde	
146, 23	forðleorde	geferde	ferde	forðferde
174, 16	leorde	becom	ferde	
198, 10	leoran	gewitan	faran	
244, 15	leorde	leornode	ferde	
312, 27	forðleorendne	= T	forðferedne	
318, 27	geleorenne	geleorniganne	geferanne	
318, 28	geleorde	geleornode	= T	
318, 32	geleorde	= T	geferde	
330, 31	leorde	= T	= T	
340, 7	geleored	= T	gefered	
422, 14	forðgeleordon	= T	forðgeferdon	
446, 7	*defective*	leorde	ferde	
474, 5	,,	leorde	forðferde Ca	forðferde
474, 12	,	leorde	ferde ,,	forðferde
476, 21	,,	leorde	ferde ,,	forðferde

Evidently *leorde*, &c. were in the archetype. B. coincides oftenest with T. (showing the affinity of the two), and the scribe's blunders, *leornode*, &c., are very instructive. As the other recension (C. O. Ca.) rarely admits it, the exclusion must have begun already in the original from which the second recension is copied.

Lætan has in Anglian *leort* as preterite (Vespasian Psalter North—rare in R., Mt., Siev., § 394 An.) This form is found 412, 12; 416, 21; 424, 9; 406, 12 (*forleart*). Here the other MSS., C. included, have West Saxon forms.

Ænlice, 97, 23, which I have translated 'peerless,' should be 'angelical.' For the omission of *g*, cp. *ænlum*, Kentish Hymn 5.

Batiende, 404, 1 (*batigende* B., *botiende* O., with erasure before *o*), is a true form. Cp. Icel. *batna* as medical term (Vigfusson). The correction into *betigean* in Leechdoms, iii. 54, 33, is therefore unnecessary (Toller, s. v. *betigean*).

Fæs 78, 13 seems Anglian equivalent of West Saxon *fnæd*. Cp. Mt. 9, 20; 14, 26; 14, 36; 23, 5; Mk. 6, 56; Lk. 8, 44; in Northern and West Saxon versions: cp. V. P. 44, 14.

Festre = utilius, 380, 3. If the word is right, the sense is new.

Frecernes frecennes, frecelnes, frecednes all are found in Bede. The form with *r* once in C. (382, 8), otherwise only in T. It should be in the text 76, 20; 324, 23.

This *r* recalls the Northern (esp. Durham R.) forms *æfern*, &c.

Ge- is not prefixed in some words: *feran* 122, 2; *gunnon* 60, 22; *leafan* 124, 27; *lomlice*, 442, 12.

Gemyndum 398, 17 (*gemyðum* O. Ca. B. *gemœrum* C.), O. H. G. *gemyndi*. Cp. O. Frisian *muth, mund*.

Gesyndgad, 320, 12 = prosperatum. Ca. O. *gefyrðrad*, in O. *fyr* on erasure, *ðr* above live: nothing in B.

Glœsfulne, 398, 3, a doubtful form. C. has *glæsful*, O. *glœsfull*, with *fœt* above.

Ca. has *glœsfœt full*, B. *glœsfœt mid*. *Ful* as substantive seems to be always neuter (A. S., O. S., Icel.). As *þæt* follows, the reading of T. may be an error.

Goaþ, goiende, 88, 15, 17. C. has *geþ, gende*; B. *gœð* (only); O. Ca. *hogaþ, hogiende*. Cp. Icelandic *geyja, go*, 'bark' = Gk γοάω. See Fick. i, 76, *gu*.

Meorðe, 376, 16. O. Ca. *meda*; B. *mede* (Northern and V. P.).

Swylce, 382, 3; 382, 6. Other MSS. *swyle*, *swile*, (but B. = T. in second passage). See Ettmuller, Lex. 752.

-Wintre, *-niht*, adjectives are found compounded with these words, e. g. 480, 26; 392, 12, 14.

Wonþe appears as a preposition in T. C. See 238, 2; 252, 9. In the former passage O. has *wona þe* with *a* above line, in the latter *wana þe*. Ca. has *wona* (only) in both. B. has (1) *wana*, (2) *læs ðe*. In 26, 18, Ca. B. have *wana*, C. *wonðe*.

I add some notes as to forms, chiefly Anglian, nearly all from T. The references are to Sievers, Angelsächsische Grammatik, 2te Auflage, 1886.

§ 237. G. sing. *Finano* (226, 15), all MSS.

D. sing. *Aurelia* (32, 3), Ca.

e dropt *huntað* (196, 25), *mæssepreost* (106, 8) T.: but O. has *e* on erasure. Cp. *in word minum*, St. John, p. 5. xxiii. (ed. Skeat).

N. pl. *godo*, neuter 224, 14).

G. pl. *Breotono* (120, 3). *Norðanhymbro* (146, 6.)

gebeodo (174, 3). *ælo* (324, 8.)

gewrito (408, 3; 448, 8, [O. Ca.]).

tinterigo (434, 6; 440, 14.)

§ 262; cp. § 237, An. 1, 2.

I stems.

Sing. N. *Edwini*, G. *Edwinis*, *Þeodoris*, *Coludis*, *apostolis*, *gyddis* (cp. Charters, O. E. T. No. 8, 5).

D. *Agustini*, *Paulini*, *eretici* (cp. *geddi*, O. E. T. p. 58, 374= p. 59, 703). Plur. N. *apostole* (312, 29).

§§ 249, 250. *WO* stems.

G. sing. *treoes* (192, 13), G. pl. *trea* (224, 15).

The forms *laruw*, *lattow* are found; *þeaw* is written *þeow* (102, 13; 173, 2). Cp., vice versa, the verb *þeawe*= *þeowe*, 210, 17.

272. *U* stems, neuter.

G. sing. *fea* (130, 34; 216, 8), D. sing. *fea* (324, 26),

§ 260. *WA* stems.

A. sing. *treowa* (130, 27). See § 260, An. 3. 274, An. 2. The forms *blodlæsos*, *blodlæseow* (392, 11, 16), I have obelised.

§ 273. *U* declension.

G. sing. *biscophade* (220, 5). See § 271, An. 2.

§ 276. *N* stems.

D. sing. *Ceadwala* (306. 10, O. Ca. *-an* B).

§ 284. An. 4. Instrumental sing.: *sume neahte* (156, 15. T., *sumre* O. Ca. B.) In North. the word is sometimes masc. (Sievers.)

Adjectives.

§ 293. D. sing. *e* dropt *in oðer stowe* (226, 24). Cp. John 1, 29 (L.) *oðer doeg* (*oðre dæge* R.).

§ 300. *WO* stems.

N. sing. masc. *geara* (98, 3).

A. sing. neut. *geara* (60, 29), *neara* (358, 4). Cp. *neara* Boet. 64, 14 (Cott. *o*), Mt. 7, 14 (Corpus). *georne* 334, 16. T. may be Ac. sing. with change of *eo* for *ea*. (O. Ca. have *gearone*, B. omits). Cp. Charter 37, 30 (O. E. T.) *gegeorwien*, and L. V. *Georored* (O. E. T. 161, 282).

§ 300. An. 1.

A. pl. neut. *feoo.* (434, 16).

§ 304; cp. § 276, An. 2.

N. sing. fem. *haligra* (120, 23), *twelfta* 124, 7.

In 56, 3 the adjectives seem neuter (=tutius); to refer them to *siðfæt* is harsh.

§ 325. G. Pl. *twelfa* (154, 5).

Pronouns.

§ 332. N. Pl. *woe* (282, 23, see Critical Note).

N. dual *wið* (394, 1).

§ 337. An. 3.

Instr. sing. *þe* (262, 19 note; cp. 380, 21).

G. pl. *ðeara* 354, 13; 388, 32 (MS. O. in 396, 30 with *e* erased).

A. sing. *þæne* (350, 23); cp. *ðene* Mt. 20, 22 (R.).

G. D. sing. fem. *þær* (244, 11; 272, 11, &c.).

§ 338. D. sing. *þeossum* (342, 30).

ðassum (422, 19; also in Z. cp. p. xiv).

§ 342. *hwilice* (434, 14).

VERBS: Pres. sing. in *o asecgo, twygeo,* 2nd sing. in *es, woldes, reces* (C.), 3rd sing. *beorned* (214, 7), *liges* (26, 21, B.), *geotet* (418, 21). Pret. 2nd sing. *gesawa* (430, 29; 432, 21), 3rd sing. *wold* (378, 30). Plur. *flito* (212, 14). Conjunctive, *n* of plural very often dropt. Inf. *drinca* (398, 2) sole example of *n* dropt. Participles *onfoende, doen, geceed, gesegen, gesene, gewarden.*

Verb substantive *earon, sy* (plur. 92, 25), *weosan* (inf.), *wærun, weran, wærom* (376, 3), *waron* (282, 6 note), *ware* (opt. 384, 25).

Miscellaneous.—Syntax. The plural *hy* of the third person has a noun in apposition *osweo* (256, 18 all MSS). This is an extension of the usage, commonly found of apposition to a dual pronoun of 1st and 2nd person (Koch, Gr., § 300). The 3rd plural usage is found in Icelandic. In 154, 5 we have *his weotena twelfa sum*=cum duodecim lectis militibus. If we follow the Latin, it is a departure from the general usage, as in Beowulf, 207 *fiftena sum*='with fourteen others.' The *his* makes some difference. The phrase *feara sum* may be cited in favour of either interpretation. The frequent use of *ond* in the apodosis is common to all the MSS. e.g. 222, 5 (7 *þær*), 306, 3 (7 *eac*), &c. The use for 'also' in 30, 25 (*on*=*ond*) is doubtful. The Latin is *etiam*. Both MSS. here agree.

All issues raised lead to similar results, placing the origin of the version in Mercia, and exhibiting T. as the best representative of the archetype.

Some deductions however must be made from this assumed value of T. The text is not quite uniform, and one scribe has some very marked peculiarities.

I reserve the full discussion of the dialect for the second volume, which will exhibit the variants of the other MSS. in full.

Two scribes (2 and 5) are only engaged on the MS. of T. for a few pages each.

They have some common peculiarities of orthography. (1) *ae* for *æ*. (Contrast scribe 1 and scribe 2 at beginning of Book 5, where their writing is intermingled.) (2) *oe* for *e*. (3) *ae*, *æ* for *e*, and vice versa. (4) *io* for *eo*. (5) *u* for *w* (*uu* once, 422, 26). (6) Double vowels *aa, ee, ii, oo, uu,* more frequently than is the habit with their *collaborateurs.*

The scribes must have taken these spellings from the copy before them. This is proved by the corrections 412, 9; 424, 10.

These peculiarities are in part at least archaic. Their frequent occurrence in these two, and their comparative rarity elsewhere, show a process of change, in which I suspect scribe 1 of being the moving spirit, but in which all scribes without exception participate. Possibly the process introduced many of the current forms of West Saxon literature, which at this time deface all dialects: cp. p. xvii.

Two tests will exhibit this influence at work.

A, O, before nasals. Late W. Saxon prefers *a*.

The proportion of *a* to *o* (excluding *þone*) is in scribe 1 for Book 1, about one to thirty-eight. In scribe 5 it is about one to eight. But in scribe 2 *a* is hardly found (*hwonan*, 352, 31; *ablan*, 390, 2). The form *fromgan*, 384, 22, recalls the V. P., and is found elsewhere, 126, 22; 330, 22. Cf. Kent. Gl. 313. This scribe has a preference for *o*: *holonga*; *bletsonge*; *somninga*; *hiofones*; *Liidisfearona.*

V. P. writes consistently *o* (Zeuner, die Sprache des k. Psalters, p. 10).

R. Matthew has chiefly *o*, but with several examples of *a*. We may contrast R. Mt. *and*—(28), *ond*—(37), with scribe 1 of T. (Bk 1), *and*—(2), *ond*—(9): (see Svensson: Om språket . . . af Rushworth-handskriften, pp. 10, 11. Otten: The language of the Rushworth Gloss to . . St. Matthew, pp. 6, 7. Leipzig, 1890).

In Kentish *a* is common from early times, and in the charters *an* is at times the almost exclusive form of the preposition (Nos. 39, 41, 43).

O prevails in Chad (Anglia, 10, 139).

Layamon has both *o* and *a* (Callenberg: Layamon und orm ... verglichen (Diss.) Jena, 1876. See §§ 1, 7).

Scribe 2 exhibits this Mercian *o* most faithfully.

A before l + consonant. Late W. Saxon has *ea*.

In Bk 1, scribe 1 has *a* to *ea* in proportion of one to two nearly (*ald* 'old' : *eald*=2 : 1, but *all* 'all' : *eall*=3 : 8). Scribe 5 (including *-wald-*) has the proportion nearly 1 : 1 (*ald*: *eald*=4 : 3; *all*: *eall*=3 : 5). Scribe 2 (again including *wald*) has *a* to *ea*=11 : 7 (*all*: *eall*=3 : 5; *ald-* 'old' does not occur. The letter combination however gives proportion *a* : *ea*=5 : 1).

V. P. has no example of *ea* (Zeuner, p. 25). But in the charter of 735 belonging to the same MS. *ealduuft* is among the signatures[1].

In the Rushworth Matthew *a* is more frequent; but *ea* preponderates in *eall*, *a* in *ald* (Svensson, pp. 21, 22; Otten, pp. 10, 11).

In the oldest Kentish documents *a* prevails exclusively (Zeuner, p. 25). But *ea* slips in, first in proper names (Nos. 8, 33, 34, 35, 38, A.D. 770 to 831). Then in No. 39, A.D. 831, *ea* is found exclusively in all words: and so from this time on varyingly.

Finally, the Kentish glosses with frequent *ea*, have only four examples of *a* (Zupitza).

Chad has a preponderance of *ea* over *a* (2 : 1, cp. Anglia, 10, p. 35). I find on examination that *eall* has expelled *all* in all cases except one (l. 107), and that *eald* is the sole form (three examples).

Layamon has *a* in *all*: in some derivatives of *ald* we find *ea*. See Madden, Glossary, under *all*, *ald*, &c. The return to *a* is very marked.

Again, scribe 2 is most faithful to the older form.

The rude hand of scribe 5 has added on peculiarities, which, though not without a parallel in the other scribes, are concentrated in a few pages so markedly, as to impart a special character to his work. He remains however faithful to the general tradition

[1] Mercian and Mercian Kentish charters (O. E. T. and Reader ii); (1) up to 900 A.D., 74 *a*, 2 *ea*; (2) 901–1000, 6 *a* 4 *ea*; (3) beyond 1000, 6 *a*, 43 *ea*.

of the text in regard to the use of *in*, and still more so as regards *mid*. This I have already noted in discussing these words.

As we have seen, there is no trace of a West Saxon original. But there is an early tradition assigning the translation to Alfred. (1) Ælfric Homily on St. Gregory (Cam. U. Libr. MS., p. 157, 16 *sqq.*=Thorpe, ii. 116): Manega hálige bec cyðað his drohtnunge 7 his hálige líf, 7 eac historia anglorum, ða ðe ælfred cyning of ledene on englisc awende. Ælfric considers Alfred's translations the only correct ones (Ib. English preface). (2) The Latin couplet in MS. Ca. already quoted (above p. xv.) is precise. (3) William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum Anglorum, Lib. ii. § 123: 'Denique plurimam partem Romanæ bibliothecæ Anglorum auribus dedit . . cuius præcipui sunt libri, Orosius, Pastoralis Gregory Gesta Anglorum Bedæ, Boetius de Consolatione Philosophiæ. . . .'

The only internal evidence in favour of Alfredian authorship is the insertion of the W. Saxon genealogy, which comes down only to the king's accession.

Our MS. authorities at this point are Ca., B., C.—the last only as cited by Wheelock. Ca. inserts it after the Praefatio. Now as Ca. never elsewhere inserts anything not in O., we may assume that the genealogy stood in this MS. also. It is not in B. The various readings cited from 'B.' by Wheelock, are really taken from the Corpus (Benet) MS. of the A. S. Chronicle, as a comparison shows.

C.=Otho B. XI. contained also the Chronicle, which was printed from this MS. by Wheelock in the same volume with his edition of Bede. C. reproduces the Corpus Chronicle (Earle, Two of the Saxon Chronicles, &c., ed. 1865, p. liii). Wheelock's vv. ll. from 'C.' may therefore be from the MS. of the Chronicle in this case also. Smith silently omits the genealogy. Had he found it in two out of his three authorities he would probably have noticed the fact.

The omission in B. is a presumption against its insertion in T. In fine, the genealogy probably was contained only in two out of our five MSS., those two which in the case of *on* are most decidedly under West Saxon influence.

Various theories may be put forward to reconcile the tradition of

Alfredian origin with the Anglian dialect of the text. Alfred may have adopted an existing translation. Apart from the difficulty of accounting for the origin of so important a version before his time, we have Alfred's precise statement in the Introduction to Cura Pastoralis that such translations were not made previously (5, 18 *sqq.*). The version may have been executed hy Mercian scholars under orders from the king. Compare the statement of William of Malmesbury (ii. § 122): 'Præterea, quia nullus in suo regno literarum erat peritus evocavit ex Mercia Wicciorum episcopum Werefrithum, qui iussu regis Dialogorum libros in Anglicum sermonem convertit.' Cp. Asser M. H. B. p. 486. Flor. Wig. M. H. B. p. 557.

The evidence of the dialect favours production on Mercian soil. One characteristic of the translation supports this view. The translator shows some familiarity with Scotch localities and circumstances, and a certain tenderness for national susceptibilities.

In Book 5, 9, the ambiguous 'transmontanis Pictis ad aquilonem' is correctly explained as *in þæm mórlondum ða ðe siondan to norðdæle Peohta rices* (410, 20). Just afterwards the vague 'a nonnullis . . . vocatur' is given with precision, *þe Scottas nemdon*. Again, in Book 3, 3 (s. f.), the abrupt omission of 'quae videlicet insula ad ius quidem Brittanniae pertinet,' in the English version is very marked: *ac hwæþere* (160, 4)='sed,' has no meaning, owing to the absence of the clause to which it introduces the antithesis. Again in Book 5, 23, the severe censure implied in *fraudium* disappears in *gestrodo*, a word suitable to the border foray to 'lift cattle.'

The omission just noticed refers to Hii (Iona), the chief seat of monasticism, and the centre which united the priesthood of Ireland, Scotland and England for the diffusion of missionary enterprise. From Iona came Aidan the apostle of Northumbria, as well as Finan, Colman, Tuda, who followed as bishops there. The first bishop of Mercia, Diuma, also a Scot, was ordained by Finan. The second bishop was Cellach, also a Scot, who resigned his bishopric and retired to Iona. His successor, the third bishop of Mercia, was indeed an Englishman, but educated and ordained by Scots. Bishop Finan had baptized Peada

the son of Penda, and so introduced Christianity into the province.

The tender regard for things of Scotland is associated with the Paschal controversy. The exultant chapter at the end of the History, in which Bede recounts the conversion of the monks of Iona to the observance of the orthodox Easter, is rendered with no inferior warmth by the translator. But he omits Book 5, 15, which speaks of the perversity of Iona on this point, and the chapter heading (which is translated), correctly renders 'Scottorum ecclesiae' by *cyricean on Hibernia*. The omission of Book 3, 16 *sqq.* has already been commented on (see p. xx). This consideration also accounts for the very remarkable omission of Book 3, 25, 26, giving an account of the triumph of the orthodox under Wilfrid, with the defeat and retirement of Colman. The allusion to his defeat at the opening of Book 4, is carefully suppressed. The partiality for Aidan already pointed out is very evident in the sudden pause in the middle of the sentence after 'zelum dei' (Book 3, 3), and the omission of what follows down to the end of the paragraph (to 'didicerunt').

This suppression is all the more remarkable when contrasted with the fidelity which reproduces Bede's bitter language as to the Britons (Bk. 5, 23 and elsewhere), and the insertion of Bk. 4, 4, which is as creditable to Colman and the English, as it is discreditable to the Irish ('Scotti'). Perhaps too national jealousy dictated the omission of the vision of the Hibernian Furseus in the archetype (see p. xxi).

We must look for the seat of such feelings not in the royal court of Alfred, but in one of the Mercian monasteries. Later accounts, while they silently exclude Alfred's authorship, exhibit the version as well known on the Welsh border. Giraldus Cambrensis was acquainted with the Latin Historia Ecclesiastica, which he quotes freely in his Topographia Hibernica (Distinctio 1, cap. 3, 29, 31). But in his Itinerarium Kambriæ (Lib. 1. c. 6) he speaks of 'omnes libros Anglicos Bedæ, Rabani, regis Aluredi.' Here an express distinction is drawn.

The country priest Layamon names Bede among his few

authorities: He nom þa englisca boc þa makede seint Beda. an oþer he nom on latin, þe makede seinte Albin 7 þe feire austin, þe fulluhte brouhte hider in. Boc he nom þe þridde, leide þer amidden, þa makede a frenchis clerc, Wace wes ihoten (31–40).

The familiar tone, however uncritical, in which he speaks of Bede, contrasts with his formal introduction of Wace. Layamon's church lay on the right bank of the Severn, by Bewdly in North Worcestershire. About twenty miles to the north lay Wenlock Abbey, whose foundress, St. Milburga, was one of the patron saints of Paisley Abbey in Scotland, and whose foundation received benefactions from Alfred's daughter Ethelfled 'lady of Mercia' (charter in Earle, p. 159). Here we might imagine the translation to be preserved. A copy may have existed to the south in the ancient foundations of Pershore or Evesham (ib. p. 238, 441). So we have seen that MS. C. probably lay in the Priory of Southwick in Hants. So, too, the Tanner MS. seems to have been written in some monastic community, but we have no certain means of determining the spot. Possibly it was an outlying 'cella.'

Lichfield also early possessed a notable monastery. This city claiming to be the see of the first Scot bishops, as it certainly was of Chad, formed a centre for Scot tradition. It was too for a time the seat of an archbishopric[1]. The district of the Vespasian Psalter is close at hand, and South Yorkshire not far distant. Its importance, history and situation mark it out as a possible birthplace for the old English version of Bede.

[1] Dugdale Monast. ed. 1846, vi. 1238 sqq. Earle p. 70. Bede, 262, 11.

THE OLDENGLISH VERSION

OF

BEDE'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE

PRAEFATIO[1].

Smith, p. 471. Ic Beda Cristes þeow and mæssepreost sende gretan ðone leofastan cyning Ceolwulf. 7 ic ðe sende þæt spell, þæt ic niwan awrat be Angelþeode 7 Seaxum, ðe sylfum to rædanne 7 on emtan to smeageanne, 7 eac on ma stowa to writanne 7 to læranne; 7 ic getreowige on ðine geornfulnysse, forþon ðu eart swyðe gymende 7 smeagende ealdra manna cwidas 7 dæda 7 ealra swyþost þara mærena wera ure þeode. Forðon þis gewrit oððe hit gód sagað be godum mannum, 7 se ðe hit gehyreþ, he onhyreþ þam, oððe hit yfel sagaþ be yfelum mannum, 7 se ðe hit gehyreð, he flyhð þæt 7 onscunaþ. Forþon hit is gód godne to herianne 7 yfelne to leanne, þæt se geðeo se þe hit gehyre. Gif se oðer nolde, hu wurð he elles gelæred? For þinre ðearfe 7 for þinre ðeode ic þis awrat; forþon ðe God to cyninge geceas, þe gedafenað þine þeode to læranne. 7 þæt ðy læs tweoge hwæðer þis soð sy, ic cyðe hwanan me þas spell coman.

II.

Ærest me wæs fultumiend 7 lareow se arwurða abbad Albinus, se wæs wide gefaren 7 gelæred, 7 wæs betst gelæred on Angelcynne. Swyðost he me sæde of † þeodores gemynde, se wæs biscop on Cantwara byrig, 7 Adrianus † abbud, forðon he swyðost wæs mid him gelæred. Eall þæt he on Cantwara mægþe 7 eac on þam þeodlandum þe þær to geðeodde wæron, eall ðæt he oððe on gewritum oððe on ealdra manna sægenum ongeat oððe fram leorningcnihtum þæs eadigan papan Scē Gregories, þa he me ealle, ða þe gemyndwurðe wæron, þurh Noðhelm ðone æfestan mæsse-

p. 472.

[1] There is no heading in the MSS. l. 1. Text follows Ca. l. 2. *cyning*

PREFACE.

I, BEDE, servant of Christ and priest, send greeting to the well-beloved king Ceolwulf. And I send you the history, which I lately wrote about the Angles and Saxons, for yourself to read and examine at leisure, and also to copy out and impart to others more at large; and I have confidence in your zeal, because you are very diligent and inquisitive as to the sayings and doings of men of old, and above all of the famous men among our people. For this book either speaks good of the good, and the hearer imitates that, or it speaks evil of the evil, and the hearer flees and shuns the evil. For it is good to praise the good and blame the bad, that the hearer may profit. If your hearer be reluctant, how else will he gain instruction? I have written this for your profit and for your people; as God chose you out to be king, it behoves you to instruct your people. And that there may be the less doubt whether this be true, I will state the sources of my narrative.

II.

My first assistant and teacher was the venerable abbot Albinus, a man who had travelled much and studied, and was the best scholar in England. He told me chiefly about Theodorus, of blessed memory, who was bishop in Canterbury, and of the abbot Adrianus, under whom he had chiefly studied. All that he ascertained in Kent and the adjoining districts, from written documents and the traditions of old inhabitants, or from disciples of the blessed pope St. Gregory, all that was memorable, he transmitted to me through Nothhelm, the pious priest of London,

Ceoluulf B. *cyning 7 halettan C.* Ca. l. 14. Ca. and B. end a paragraph at *sy*; Ca. also inserts a number, II, after *sy*.

preost on Lundenbyrig—oððe hine to me sende, oððe on stafum awrat 7 me sende. Fram fruman þyssa boca oð þa tíd, þe Angelcyn Cristes geleafan onfeng, of ealldra manna sægenum—; oð þas andweardan tid swyðost we geleornodon, þæt we her writað, of leorningcnihtum þæs eadigan papan Sce Gregorius, under hwilcum cyninge þæt ðonne geworden wæs, þurh Albinus myngunge þæs abbudes 7 ðurh Noðhelmes ærendo 7 gesægene. Swyðe fela hi me sædon fram gehwylcum biscopum, 7 hwylcum cyninga tidum Eastseaxe 7 Westseaxe 7 Eastengle 7 Norðanhumbre þære gife onfengon Cristes geleafan. Ðurh Albinus swiðost ic geðrist- læhte þæt ic dorste þis weorc ongynnan, 7 eac †mid Danieles þæs arwurðan Westseaxna biscopes, se nu gyt lifigende is. Fela he me sæde ymbe Suðseaxe 7 embe Westseaxe; 7 eac ymbe Wiht ðæt igland swyðost he me sende on gewritum. †7 þurh Cedde þone arwurðan Myrcna bisceop 7 Ceaddan ymbe Myrcna þeode 7 Eastseaxena †; 7 eac ymb þara biscopa líf 7 forþfore we geacsodan fram þam broðrum þæs mynstres, ðe hi sylf astemnedon, ðe Læstinga ea is nemned. Þa þing þe on Eastenglum gewordene wæron, sume we þa of ealdra manna gewritum oððe sægene metton, sume we mid Isses gesægene þæs arwurþan abbudes geleornedon. 7 þæt on Lindese geworden wæs ymbe Cristes geleafan, þurh gesegene ðæs arwurðan biscopes Cynebyrhtes 7 þurh his ærendgewritu 7 oðra lifigendra swiðe getreowra we geleornodon. 7 eac þæt we on Norðanhymbrum geacsedon ymbe Cristes geleafan oð ðysne andweardan dæg, nalæs mid anes mannes geþeahte ac mid gesægene unrim geleaffulra witena, þa þe þa ðing wiston 7 gemundon, 7 syððan þæt ic sylf ongeat, ne lét ic þæt unwriten. Þæt ic be ðam halgan fæder Cuðbyrhte wrat oððe on þysse bec oððe on oðre, þa dæda his lifes, sume ic ærest nom of þam gewritum ðe ic awriten gemette mid þam broðrum þære cyricean æt Lindesfearona ea, sumu, ða þe ic sylf ongitan mihte þurh swiðe getreowra manna gesægene, ic toycte. 7

l. 5. 7 Ca., B. (before *leorning-*). l. 7. 7 *ðurh* B. 7 not in Ca. l. 11. † *mid*, read *myngunge*, here or after *Albinus*? l. 14. †—† The passage from 7 *þurh* to *East Seaxena* is corrupt. B. has 7 *ðurh Cedde þon arweorðan Myrcna bysceopes ymb Myrcna ðeode 7 Eastseaxena.* l. 24. *Norðanhymbra* Ca.

either sending him to me in person or forwarding a written statement. From the beginning of these books till the English received the faith of Christ, we have derived what is here written from the traditions of old men, (thenceforward) up to the present, chiefly from the disciples of the blessed pope St. Gregory, with the dates according to the kings' reigns, all recorded through abbot Albinus and the reports and statements of Nothhelm. They told me very much as to the bishops and the dates of the kings, under whom the East Saxons, West Saxons, East Angles and Northumbrians received the grace of Christ's faith. And it was chiefly through Albinus that I was encouraged to commence this work, (encouraged) also by Daniel the venerable bishop of the West Saxons, who still survives. He told me much about the South Saxons and West Saxons; and also about the Isle of Wight, (but this last) chiefly by letter. † And through Cedd, the venerable bishop of the Mercians, and Chad, about the people of the Mercians and East Saxons †, and about the life and death of the bishops, we have learnt from the brethren of the monastery, founded by them, which is called Lastingham. Events in East Anglia we have traced partly from the writings of older men or their traditions; partly we have ascertained them from the statements of the venerable abbot Isse. The progress of Christ's faith in Lindsey we have learnt from the statements of the venerable bishop Cyneberht, and through written reports from him and other very trustworthy persons still living. (I also relate) what we have ascertained about the faith of Christ in Northumbria up to the present day, not on the authority of a single person, but from the statements of numberless faithful witnesses, who knew and remembered the events, and afterwards what I myself knew, I did not leave unrecorded. What I have written about the holy father Cuthbert, either in this book or in another, his deeds and his life, I have taken first from the writings I found among the brethren of the church at Lindisfarne, and the particulars, which I myself could ascertain from the report of very trustworthy persons,

Norðhymbrū B. l. 31. *Lindesfearona ea* C. *Lindesfarena* (no more) Ca. *Lindesfarene* (no more) B.

þone leornere ic nu eadmodlice bidde 7 halsige, gif he hwæt ymbe ðis on oðre wisan gemete oððe gehyre, þæt he me þæt ne otwite.

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI PRIMI[1].

I. Be gesetnysse Breotene oððe Hibernia Scotta ealandes, ond heora þam ærran bigengum.

II. Ðæt se ærra Romwara casere Gagius Iulius Breotene gesohte.

III. Ðæt se æftera Romwara casere, Claudius haten, þæt ylce ealond gesohte; 7 Orcadas þa ealand geþeodde to Romwara cynedome; ge eac Uespassianus fram him sended wæs, 7 he Wihte ealond þam Romaniscan kynedome underðeodde.

IIII. Ðæt Lucius Brytta cyning sende gewritu to Eleutherio þam papam, bæd hine cristenne beon, and eac abæd.

V. Ðæt Seuerus se casere onfeng micelne dæl Breotene, 7 þone mid dice tosceadde fram oðrum unatemedum þeodum.

VI. Be Dioclitianus rice, 7 þæt he cristene men wæs ehtende.

VII. Sce Albanus þrowung 7 his geferena, þe on ða ilcan tid for Drihtne heora blod aguton.

VIII. Ðæt, ða seo ehtnysse blan, seo cyrice on Breotene hwæthwugu fæc sibbe hæfde, oð ða tide þæs Arrianiscan gedwolan.

VIIII. Ðæt ricsiendum Gratiano Maximus se casere wæs on Breotene acenned, 7 eft mid mycle weorede ferde on Gallia rice.

X. Ðæt ricsiendum Archadio Pelagius se Bryt wið Godes gife geleafan unrihtlice lare onfeng.

XI. Ðæt ricsiendum Honorio Gratianus 7 Constantius wæron on Breotene acende; 7 se ærra wæs on Brytton ofslegen, 7 se oðer wæs on Gallia rice.

XII. Ðæt Bryttas fram Scottum 7 Peohtum wæron forhergode; 7 hi to Rome him fultumes bædon.

l. 3. For the Wessex genealogy see end of volume. After *otwite* Ca. has III (numeral). [1] The Capitula precede the Praefatio in B. l. 4. *on*

I have added on. And I now humbly beg and entreat the reader that, if he find or hear anything different about this, he will not blame me.

CONTENTS.

Book I.

I. About the position of Britain and Ireland, the island of the Scots, and about their first inhabitants.

II. That the first emperor of the Romans, Gaius Julius, visited Britain.

III. That the second emperor of the Romans, called Claudius, visited the same island, and subjected the Orkney islands to the Roman dominion; that also Vespasianus was sent by him and brought the Isle of Wight under the Roman rule.

IV. That Lucius, king of the Britons, sent letters to pope Eleutherius praying to be made a christian, and his prayer was heard.

V. That the emperor Severus took a large part of Britain, and separated it with a dyke from the other savage tribes.

VI. About the reign of Diocletian, and that he persecuted the christians.

VII. The passion of St. Alban and his companions, who shed their blood for the Lord at the same time.

VIII. That when the persecutions ceased, the church in Britain had peace for some time till the days of the Arian heresy.

IX. That in the reign of Gratianus the emperor Maximus was born in Britain, and again proceeded to Gaul with a vast host.

X. That in the reign of Arcadius, Pelagius the Briton took up false doctrine contrary to belief in God's grace.

XI. That in the reign of Honorius, Gratianus and Constantius were born in Britain; and the first was slain in Britain, the other in Gaul.

XII. That the Britons were wasted by the Scots and Picts, and entreated help from Rome.

(='et') Ca., B. (often in MSS.). l. 10. *Uespassianus* Ca. *Uespasianus* B. l. 19. *hwæt h,ugu* Ca. *sum* B.

XIII. Dæt ricsiendum Theodosio, þæs tídum Palladius se biscop wæs sended to gelyfendum Scottum on Crist, Bryttas to Rome fram Ettio þam cyninge wæron him fultumes biddende 7 þær nænigne hæfdon.

XIIII. Dæt Bryttas mid þy mærran hungre genedde þa elreordian of heora gemærum adrifan; 7 sona æfter þam mycel eorþwæstm 7 firenlust 7 mancwealm 7 adla 7 gehrora þære ðeode wæron æfterfylgende.

XV. Dætte Angelðeod wæs gelaðod fram Bryttum on Breotone; 7 heo sona ærest heora þa wiðerweardan feor adrifan; ac nalęs æfter micelre tide þæt hi geweredon wið him, 7 heora wæpen hwyrfdon wið Bryttas heora gefaran.

XVI. Dætte Bryttas ærest on Angelðeode sige genaman; wæs Ambrosius heora heretoga Romanisc man.

XVII. Dæt Germanus se biscop mid Lupo to Breotene on scype cumende, ærest þæs sæs 7 æfter þam ðara Pelagianiscan hreohnysse mid godcunde mægene gestilde.

XVIII. Dæt se ylca þa dohter ðæs ealdormannes blinde onlihte; 7 æfter þam to ðam halgan Albane becumende þær ærest his reliquias onfeng, 7 eac þær to asette ða reliquias þara halgera apostola 7 eac oðra martyra.

XVIIII. Dætte se ylca biscop for ðam intingan untrumnysse † feria gehæfd 7 þa brynas þara husa gebiddende adwæscte; 7 he sylf ðurh gesihþe fram his adle wæs gehæled.

XX. Dæt þa ylcan biscopas Bryttum on gefeohte godcundne fultum forgeafon; 7 swa ham wæron eft hweorfende.

XXI. Dæt eft spryttendum þam twigum ðæs Pelagianiscan woles Germanus mid Seuero to Breotene eft cumende ærest þam healtan geongan his stæpe he geedniwode, 7 æfter þam Godes folce, geniðeredum ge eac gebettum þam gedwolmannum, he him geedniwode þone stæpe rihtes geleafan.

XXII. Dætte Bryttas sume tide gestildon fram utgefeohte; 7 hie sylfe þræston on ingefeohtum, 7 on manegum manum hi sylfe besencton.

l. 1. *pallidius* Ca. *paladius* B. l. 2. Before *Bryttas* MSS. insert 7. l. 7. *ge*^{h}*rora* Ca. *gehrero* C. *gehroro* B. l. 23. *feria* Ca. *þær wæs* B.

XIII. That in the reign of Theodosius, in whose days bishop Palladius was sent to the Scots who believed in Christ, the Britons sought help from king Aetius at Rome and received none.

XIV. That the Britons, forced by severe famine, drove the barbarians beyond their borders; and soon after this an abundant harvest and luxury, mortality, sickness and ruin of the people followed.

XV. That the Angles were invited into Britain by the Britons: who first soon drove out their adversaries, but not long afterwards made a treaty with them and turned their arms against the Britons their allies.

XVI. That the Britons first won a victory over the Angles under the leadership of Ambrosius, a Roman.

XVII. That bishop Germanus came by ship to Britain with Lupus, and by divine power first calmed the wildness of the sea and afterwards that of the Pelagians.

XVIII. That the same bishop restored to sight the blind daughter of the magistrate; and after that coming to St. Alban there first received his relics, and deposited with them relics of the holy apostles and of other martyrs besides.

XIX. That the same bishop was detained there from illness, and by his prayers quenched the conflagration of the houses, and was himself cured of his sickness by a vision.

XX. That the same bishops brought divine aid to the Britons in battle; and then returned home.

XXI. That when the pestilent heresy of Pelagius sprouted afresh, Germanus returned to Britain with Severus and first restored to a lame youth the power of walking, and then, by condemning or reforming heretics, brought back the people of God to walk in the ways of true faith.

XXII. That the Britons for a time had rest from foreign wars, and wasted themselves in civil contests and plunged into many sins.

færinga C. l. 28. *healtan* B. C. *healtan* *halgan* Ca. (but *healtan* above is modern) l. 29. *godes* B. *gode* Ca.

XXIII. Đæt se halga papa Gregorius. Augustinum sende mid munecum Angelðeode to bodiganne Godes word 7 geleafan 7 eac swylce mid trymmendlice ærendgewrite hi gestrangode, þæt hi ne ablunnen fram þam gewinne.

XXIIII. Đæt Augustinus wæs cumende on Breotone ærest on Tenet þam ealonde; 7 Cantwara cyninge Cristes geleafan bodode; 7 swa mid his lefnysse Godes word bodigende on Cent eode.

XXV. Đæt he Augustinus on Cent þære frymðelican cyrican lif 7 lare wæs onhyrigende, and on cyninges byrig bisceopsetl onfeng.

XXVI. Đæt se ylca, biscop geworden, onbead Gregorio þam papan ða þe on Breotene gedon wæron, 7 somod be þam nydþearflican ðingum his andsware biddende onfeng.

XXVII. Þæt se ylca papa Gregorius sende Agustino pallium 7 maran fultum Godes word to læranne.

XXVIII. Đæt he se papa Æðelbyrhte þam cyninge gewrit 7 gyfe sende: þætte Agustinus Cristes cyrican geedniwode, 7 Scē Petres mynster getimbrade.

XXVIIII. Đæt Agustinus Cristes cyrican geedniwode 7 worhte mid þæs cyninges fultume Æðelbyrhtes.

XXX. Đætte Agustinus þæt mynster þara apostola Petrus 7 Paulus getimbrade; 7 be his þam ærestan abbude Petro.

XXXI. Đætte Æðelfrið Norðanhymbra cyning Scotta þeode mid gefeohte ofercom, 7 hi of Angelðeode gemærum adrof.

Her endað seo forme bóc.

Her onginneð seo oðer bóc.

I. Be forðfore þæs eadigan papan Gregorius.

II. Đæt Agustinus Brytta biscopas for rihtgeleaffulre sibbe lærde 7 monade, ge eac gedonum beforan him heofonlican wundre: 7 eac hwylc wracu him forhogiende æfterfyligde.

III. Þæt he Agustinus Mellitum 7 Iustum to biscopum gehalgode: 7 be his forðfore.

IV. Đæt Laurentius mid his efenbiscopum Scottas wæs mani-

l. 3. *trymmendlice* C. *-med-* Ca. *trumum* B. *gestrangode* B. *-gedon* Ca. l. 5. *Brotone* Ca. *Brytene* B. l. 7. *eode* B. C., not in Ca. l. 12. *bindende* Ca. *bidd-* B. l. 27. *rihtgelea,fulra* Ca. *-leafulre* B.

XXIII. That the holy pope Gregory sent Augustine with monks to preach God's word and faith to the English, and also encouraged them with comforting letters not to give up their task.

XXIV. That Augustine first landed in Britain on the Isle of Thanet, and preached Christ's faith to the king of Kent; and then by his permission proceeded to preach God's word in Kent.

XXV. That Augustine in Kent imitated the life and teaching of the primitive church, and received an episcopal seat in the king's town.

XXVI. That the same, on becoming bishop, reported to pope Gregory what was done in Britain, and at the same time asked and received the pope's answer on necessary points.

XXVII. That the same pope Gregory sent Augustine a pallium and more help to teach God's word.

XXVIII. That the pope sent to king Æthelberht a letter and presents; that Augustine restored Christchurch and built St. Peter's monastery.

XXIX. That Augustine restored and built a church of Christ with the help of king Æthelberht.

XXX. That Augustine built the monastery of the apostles Peter and Paul, and about its first abbot Peter.

XXXI. That Æthelfrith, king of Northumbria, overcame the Scots in battle, and drove them over the English border.

Here ends the first book.

Here begins the second book.

I. About the death of the blessed pope Gregory.

II. That Augustine instructed and admonished the British bishops for the sake of catholic unity, and also by performing a miracle before them; and what punishment overtook them for disregarding him.

III. That Augustine consecrated as bishops Mellitus and Justus; and of his death.

IV. That Laurentius and his fellow bishops admonished the

gende on ða annysse ðære halgan cyrican, ealles mæst ymb Eastrena healdnyssa: 7 þæt Mellitus to Rome com.

V. Forðferendum þam cyningum Æðelbyrhto 7 Sæbyrhto, heora æfterfyligendas wæron deofolgylde folgiende; forðam Mellitus 7 Iustus ða biscopas of Brotene gewiton.

VI. Dætte Laurentius se arcebiscop wæs geþread fram þam apostole Sce Petre; Eadbaldum þone cyning to Criste gecyrde; 7 Mellitum 7 Iustum þa biscopas tọ bodigenne hider gecyrdon.

VII. Dæt Mellitus æfter Laurentio arcebiscop geworden wæs; þa ligeas his byrnendre ceastre gebiddende adwæscte.

VIII. Be cynedome Eadwines; 7 þæt cumende Paulinus him godspell bodade, 7 ærest his dohtor mid oðrum monnum gelærde mid halgum gerynum Cristes geleafan.

VIIII. Dæt se papa Bonefatius þone ylcan cyning, onsendum gewritum, wæs trymmende to rihtum geleafan.

X. Hwylc geþeaht se ylca cyning mid his ealdormonnum hæbbende wæs be þære onfengnysse Cristes geleafan.

XI. Dæt se ylca Edwine mid his þeode geleafful geworden wæs; 7 þæt Paulinus hine gefullade.

XII. Dæt seo mægðe Eastengla Cristes geleafan onfeng.

XIII. Dæt Paulinus on Lindesege mægðe bodigende wæs Cristes geleafan.

XIIII. Be þære sibbe 7 stillnysse Eadwines cyninges rices.

XV. Be forðfore Iustus þæs arcebiscopes: 7 þæt Honorius for him gecoren wæs 7 fram Paulino on Lindcylene gehalgod wæs; 7 þæt he fram Honorio þam papan ærendgewrito 7 pallium onfeng.

XVI. Dætte, ofslegenum Eadwine fram Pendan Myrcna cyninge, Paulinus se bisceop wæs eft cumende to Cent 7 on Hrofeceastre biscopsetl onfeng.

Her endað seo oðer bóc.
and her onginneð seo þridde.

l. 6. *frā þā aplē* Ca. *fram þam aplē* B. l. 18. *wæs* B., not in Ca. l. 25. *lindcylne* Ca. *lindcylene* B. l. 28. *myrcna* B. *mycna* Ca. l. 29. *biseop* Ca. *bysceop* B.

Scots as to the unity of Holy Church, and above all as to the observance of Easter: and that Mellitus went to Rome.

V. On the deaths of kings Æthelberht and Sæberht, their successors turned to idol worship; wherefore bishops Mellitus and Justus withdrew from Britain.

VI. That the archbishop Laurentius was chastised by the apostle St. Peter, and converted king Eadbald to Christ; and of the recall of the bishops Mellitus and Justus to preach.

VII. That Mellitus became archbishop after Laurentius, and by his prayers quenched the flames of his burning city.

VIII. About the realm of Eadwine; and that Paulinus came and preached the gospel to him, and first instructed his daughter and others in the holy mysteries of Christ's faith.

IX. That pope Boniface sent a letter to exhort the king to the true faith.

X. Of the counsel taken by the king with his chief men as to the reception of Christ's faith.

XI. That Eadwine and his people received the faith, and of his baptism by Paulinus.

XII. That the East Angles received Christ's faith.

XIII. That Paulinus preached Christ's faith in Lindsey.

XIV. Concerning the peace and quiet of Eadwine's reign.

XV. Of the death of archbishop Justus; that Honorius was chosen in his place, and consecrated by Paulinus at Lincoln; and that he received a letter and the pallium from pope Honorius.

XVI. That when Eadwine was slain by Penda, king of Mercia, bishop Paulinus returned to Kent and received the bishop's seat at Rochester.

Here ends the second book.

And here begins the third.

I. Dæt þa forman æfterfyligende Eadwines cyninges þone geleafan his agenre þeode besmiton: 7 Oswald se cristenesta cyning þara ægðer geedniwode.

II. Đæt se ylca cyning biddende of Sceotta þeode biscope onfeng Aidanum on naman gehatenne, 7 him on Lindesfarona ealonde biscopsetl forgeaf.

III. Be Aidanus life þæs biscopes.

IIII. Be eaufæstnysse 7 wundorlicre arfæstnysse Oswaldes cyninges.

V. Đæt seo mægð Westseaxna, bodigendum Birino þam biscope, onfeng Godes word; 7 be his æfterfyligendum Ægelbyrhto 7 Leotherio.

VI. Đætte Cantwara cyning Erconbyrht bebead deofolgyld beon toworpene: 7 be his dehter Ercengota 7 hire magan Æðelburge Gode gehalgedum fæmnum.

VII. Đæt on þære stowe, ðær ofslægen wæs se cyning Oswald, gelomlicu wundurgeweorc gewordene wæron: 7 þæt ðær ærest anes wegferendes mannes nyten gehæled wæs, 7 æfter þam an mæden, seo wæs ær lama.

VIII. Đæt þære ylcan stowe myl wið fyre wæs freomigende.

IX. Đæt ofer his reliquias þæt heofonleoht ealle niht wæs ofergestondonde 7 scinende; 7 þæt deofolseoce æt his reliquium wæron gelacnode.

X. Đæt æt his byrigenne an lytel cniht fram lengtenadle wæs gelacnod.

XI. Đætte on Hibernia sum man fram his reliquium fram deaðes liðe wæs gehæled.

XII. Đætte forðferdum Paulino þam biscope Ithamar for him æt Hrofeceastre biscopsetle onfeng. 7 be wundorlicre eadmodnesse Oswines þæs cyninges, se fram Oswio wælhreowlice wæs ofslægen.

XIII. Đæt se biscop Aidan þam scypfarendum þone storm towardne foresægde, 7 eac him gehalgodne ele sealde, mid þam hi þone storm gestildon.

l. 15. *gehagedū* Ca. *gehalgode* B. l. 20. *myl wiđ* B. *mid* (only) Ca., C. l. 31. *storm* B. *stream* Ca. 32. *foresægde* B. *sægde* Ca.

I. That the first successors of king Eadwine defiled the faith of his people, and Oswald the most christian king restored both (the faith and the royal power).

II. That the same king on his request received a bishop from the Scots named Aidan, and gave him a bishop's seat in the island of Lindisfarne.

III. About the life of bishop Aidan.

IV. About the religion and admirable piety of king Oswald.

V. That the West Saxons received God's word on the preaching of bishop Birinus; and of his successors Ægelberht and Leutherius.

VI. That Erconberht, king of Kent, ordered the destruction of idols: and about his daughter Ercengota and her relative Æthelburh, virgins consecrated to God.

VII. That on the spot, where king Oswald was slain, frequent miracles took place; and that there first a traveller's horse was healed and afterwards a girl previously lame.

VIII. That mould from the same place was efficacious against fire.

IX. That a light from heaven stood and shone all night over his relics; and that demoniacs were cured at his relics.

X. That a little child was cured of fever at his tomb.

XI. That in Ireland a man at the point of death was healed by his relics.

XII. That on the death of bishop Paulinus, Ithamar received the see of Rochester in his place. And of the wonderful humility of king Oswine, who was cruelly slain by Oswio.

XIII. That bishop Aidan foretold a coming storm to men on board ship, and gave them also consecrated oil, with which they calmed the storm.

XIIII. Dæt se ylca *biscop* þæt togewehgene fyr þære cynelican burghe gebiddende onweg gewende.

XV. Dætte Middelengla mægð under Peadan Pendan suna wæs cristen geworden.

XVI. Dæt Eastseaxan þone rihtan Godes geleafan, ðone hi gefyrn awurpon, under Sibrihte heora cyninge, mid geornfulnysse Oswies ðæs cyninges, 7 Cedde *him* bodiendum, eft onfengon.

XVII. Dæt se ylca *biscop* Cedde onfonde fram þam cyninge Æðelwalde sume stowe mynster on to timbrianne, 7 þa mid halgum gebedum 7 fæstenum Drihtne gehalgode; 7 be his forðfore.

XVIII. Dæt Mercna mægð, ofslegenum Pendan hyra cyninge, Cristes geleafan onfengon; 7 Oswio se cyning for ðam sige sealdan *him* for Gode æhta micle 7 twelf bocland Gode mynster on to getimbrianne sealde 7 forgeaf.

XIX. Dæt Ecbyrht se halga wer of Angelcynnes cynne acenned munuclif wæs lædende on Hibernia.

XX. Dæt, forðferdum Tudan, Wilfrið wæs sended on Gallia, 7 þær wæs gehadod fram Æðelbyrhte þam *biscope*; 7 Ceadda on Westseaxum fram Wine *biscope*. 7 hi begen wæron Norðhymbrum to biscopum gehalgode.

XXI. Dæt se mæssepreost Wigeard arce*biscop* to gehadianne on Breotene to Rome wæs onsended, þonone sona hi hider onsendon gewritu þæs apostolican papan 7 þær cyddon hine forðferende.

XXII. Dæt Eastseaxan on þa tid ðæs mancwealmes to deofolgylde wæron eft gecyrde, 7 eft þurh ða geornfulnesse Germanus ðæs *biscopes* hi sona fram heora gedwolan wæron eft gecyrde.

Her endað seo þridde bóc.

Her onginneð seo feorðe bóc.

I. Dætte forðferdum Deusdedit ðon arce*biscope*, Wigheard wæs þam biscophade to onfonne to Rome onsended: ac him þær forð- ferendum, Deodorus wæs to arcebiscope gehalgod 7 mid Adriane þam abbude wæs to Breotone onsended.

II. Dæt Þeodorus se arce*biscop* * gondferend ealle Angelcynnes

l. 9. *stow* Ca. *-we* B. l. 13. *micle* B. *mila* Ca. l. 14. *sealde 7 forgeaf* not in Ca., inserted from B. l. 23. 7 B., not in Ca. l. 29. *ðon* B. *se* Ca. 7 *wigheard* Ca. *wigheard* (only) B. l. 30. 7 *to* Ca. *to* (only) B.

XIV. That the same bishop by his prayers diverted the fire brought up against the royal city.

XV. That the Middle Angles became christians under Peada, son of Penda.

XVI. That the East Saxons returned to the true faith of God, which they had formerly rejected, under their king Sigberht, through the zeal of king Oswio and the preaching of Cedd.

XVII. That the same bishop Cedd obtained ground from king Æthelwald to build a monastery, and consecrated it to the Lord with holy prayers and fastings; and concerning his death.

XVIII. That the Mercians received the faith of Christ when their king Penda was slain, and king Oswio, in return for the victory granted him, gave and assigned for God's sake many possessions and twelve boclands to erect a monastery on to God.

XIX. That Ecgberht, a holy man of English descent, lived as a monk in Ireland.

XX. That on the death of Tuda, Wilfrid was sent to Gaul, and there was ordained by bishop Æthelberht, and Chad by bishop Wine in Wessex; and both were consecrated as bishops for Northumbria.

XXI. That the priest Wigheard was sent to Rome to be ordained archbishop in Britain; whence letters of the apostolical pope were presently sent here and announced his death there.

XXII. That the East Saxons in time of plague returned to idolatry, and soon again were converted from their error by the zeal of bishop Germanus.

Here ends the third book.

Here begins the fourth book.

I. That on the death of archbishop Deusdedit, Wigheard was sent to Rome to receive episcopal ordination, and on his death there Theodore was consecrated archbishop and sent with abbot Adrian to Britain.

II. That archbishop Theodore visited all the churches in

him þær forðferendum B. *hi ðær forðferdon* 7 Ca. l. 33. *gondferendū* Ca. *þeodoro ðam arcebysceope geondfarendum* B.

cyricean mid * rihtgeleaffulre soðfæstnysse, 7 swylce eac mid halgum gewritum 7 stæfcræftum hi georne het beon lærede: 7 þæt Putta for Damiano æt Hrofeceastre to biscope wæs gehalgod.

III. Ðæt Ceadda, be þam ðe we ær bufan spræcon, Myrcna mægðe wæs biscop seald: 7 be his life, 7 be his forðfore, 7 be his byrigenne.

IV. Ðæt Coloman se biscop, forletenre Breotone, twa mynstro on Scottum geworhte, oðer þam Scottum, oðer ðam Engliscan, ðe he mid hine ðider gelædde.

V. Be deaðe Oswies 7 Ecbyrhtes þara cyninga: 7 be þam sinoðe þe geworden wæs æt Heortfeorda, þam wæs foresittende se arcebiscop Ðeodorus.

VI. Ðæt adune asetton of þam biscoprice Winfriðe, Seaxulf his biscoprice onfeng: 7 Erconwold Eastseaxum wæs biscop seald.

VII. Ðæt on Berccingum þam mynstre mid heofonlice leohte getacnod wæs, hwær gesette beon sceoldon þa lichaman haligra fæmnena.

VIII. Ðæt on þam ylcan mynstre sum lytel sweltende cniht be naman genemde ða mynsterfæmnan, ðe him æfterfyligende węs: 7 þæt oðru of lichaman utgangende sumne dæl geseah þæs heofonlican leohtes.

IX. Hwylce heofonlicu tacnu ætywde wæron, þa ða seo modur sylf ðære gesomnunge of middanearde ferde.

X. Ðæt Torhtgyð seo Godes þeowen ðreo gear æfter ðære hlæfdian forðfore þa geta on life hæfd wæs.

XI. Ðæt æt þam lictune ðæs mynstres an blind wif hire wæs gebiddende; 7 forðam onfeng þam beorhte hire eagena.

XII. Ðæt se cyning ðære ylcan mægðe Sebbe on munuclicum drohtoðe his lif geendode.

XIII. Ðæt Westseaxna biscophad for Eleutherio Hædde wæs onfonde, 7 ðone æt Hrofeceastre for Puttan Cwichelm onfeng, 7 for him Gifmund: 7 eac hwylce ða wæron Norðanhymbra bisceopas.

XIV. Ðæt se steorra ætywde, se is cometa nemned, 7 þreo monað wæs wuniende, and symble on uhtatid wæs upyrnende.

l. 1. *cyricū* Ca. *ciricean* B. *rihte* Ca. *rihtre* B. l. 2. *lærede* B. *lærende* Ca. l. 3. *Damiana* Ca. *Daniano* (*ni* not original) B. l. 20. *ut-*

England, and bade them be instructed diligently in orthodox truth and also in Holy Writ and in secular learning: and that Putta was consecrated as bishop of Rochester in place of Damian.

III. That Chad, about whom we spoke above, was assigned as bishop to the Mercians: and of his life, death, and burial.

IV. That bishop Colman left Britain and established two monasteries among the Scots, one for the Scots, the other for the English, whom he brought there with him.

V. Of the death of kings Oswio and Ecgberht: and concerning the synod held at Hertford, where archbishop Theodore presided.

VI. That Winfrid was deposed, and Seaxulf received his bishopric: and Erconwald was assigned as bishop to the East Saxons.

VII. That a sign was given by heavenly light in the monastery at Barking, where the bodies of the holy virgins should be buried.

VIII. That in the same monastery a little child, at his death, named the nun who should follow him: and that another nun, when about to depart this life, saw some portion of the heavenly light.

IX. What signs from heaven were shown, when the mother of the society was herself leaving this earth.

X. That Torhtgyth the servant of God, three years after this lady's death, was still detained in this life.

XI. That a blind woman was praying in the burial-ground of this monastery, and thereby recovered her sight.

XII. That Sebbe, king of this province, ended his life as a monk.

XIII. That Hædde received the bishopric of the West Saxons in place of Eleutherius, and Cwichelm the see of Rochester in place of Putta, and Gifmund in his place: and also who were then bishops in Northumbria.

XIV. That the star, called comet, appeared and remained three months, and always rose at dawn. In the same year

gangende B. *-dū* Ca. (perhaps read *-du*). l. 22. *heofonlicu tacnu* B. *-ca -na* Ca. l. 29. *drohtoðe* B. *drohtunge* Ca.

On þam ylcan geare Ecfriþ Norðanhymbra cyning adræfde Wilfirð þone arwyrðan biscop.

XV. Ðæt Willferð *biscop* Suðseaxna mægðe to Criste gecyrde, seo hwæðere, *him* ðanon gewitendum, for ðære grimman feonda ofðrycnesse agenne biscop habban ne mihte.

XVI. Ðæt *þæt* ealond Wiht onfeng cristene bigengan, þæs twegen cynelice cnihtas æft*er* þon onfangenan fulluhtes bæðe sona wurdon ofslegene.

XVII. Be þam sinoðe se wæs geworden on þam felda, se wæs genemned Hæþfeld, andweardan þam ærceb*iscope* Theodore.

XVIII. Be Iohanne *þam* heahseangere þæs apostolican setles, se for lare com to Breotone.

XIX. Ðæt seo cwen Æðeldryð clæne fæmne þurhwunode, þære lichama on byrigenne gewemmed beon ne mihte: 7 be þam hymene þe we be hire geworhton.

XX. Ðæt se *biscop* Ðeodorus betweox Ecgferðe 7 Æðelrede þ*am* cyningu*m* sibbe geworhte.

XXI. Ðæt ða benda sumes gehæftes * tolysede wæron, þon*ne* for hi*m* mæssan sungene wæron.

XXII. Be life 7 forðfore Hilde þære abbudissan.

XXIII. Ðæt on hire mynstre wæs sum broðor, þam godcundlice forgifen wæs seo gyfu to singanne.

XXIIII. Hwilc gesihð sumu*m* Godes were ætywde, ær þ*am* ðe *þæt* mynster æt Coludes byrig mid bryne fornumen wære.

XXV. Be deaðe þara twegea cyninga Ecferðes 7 Hloðheres.

XXVI. Ðæt se Drihtnes wer Cuðbryht wæs *biscop* geworden, 7 *þæt* he ða gyt on munuclicu*m* life geseted lærde 7 bodade.

XXVII. Ðæt se ylca wer Cuðbyrht*us* on ancerlife geseted an easpring of drigre eorðan gebiddende up gelædde, 7 ænne æcer of ðam gewinne his agenre handa ofer þa tid ðæs sæwetes onfeng.

XXVIII. Ðæt se ylca *biscop* Cuþbryht his forþfore ða towearðan Herebyrhto þ*am* ancran foresæde.

XXIX. Ðæt his lichoma æft*er* endleofon gearu*m* his byrigenne wæs clæne ælcere brosnunge funden 7 gemeted: 7 æft*er* noht mycele fyrste ðæs his æft*er*fyligend of þyssum middanearde geferde.

l. 16. *ec*^{g}*ferðe* Ca. *ecgferð* B. l. 18. *tolysende* Ca. *toslitene* B.

Ecgfrith, king of Northumbria, expelled the venerable bishop Wilfrid.

XV. That bishop Wilfrid converted the South Saxons to Christ, who however, on his departure, could not maintain a bishop of their own on account of the dire oppression of their enemies.

XVI. That the Isle of Wight received christian inhabitants, and that two of its young princes were slain immediately after being baptized.

XVII. Of the synod held in the plain called Bishop's Hatfield, in the presence of archbishop Theodore.

XVIII. Concerning John, precentor of the apostolic see, who came to teach in Britain.

XIX. That queen Etheldreda remained a pure virgin, and that her body could not decay in the tomb: and of the hymn we wrote concerning her.

XX. That bishop Theodore brought about peace between kings Ecgfrith and Æthelred.

XXI. That the bonds of a prisoner were loosed, when masses were sung for him.

XXII. Of the life and death of abbess Hild.

XXIII. That in her monastery there was a brother divinely endowed with the gift of song.

XXIV. The vision which appeared to a man of God, before the monastery at Coldingham was destroyed by fire.

XXV. Of the death of the two kings, Ecgfrith and Hlothere.

XXVI. That the holy man Cuthbert became bishop, and that he taught and preached while still a monk.

XXVII. That the same Cuthbert, while living as a hermit, by his prayers brought up a spring out of dry ground, and obtained a crop by the labour of his own hand, though it was past the right seed-time.

XXVIII. That the same bishop Cuthbert foretold his coming death to the hermit Hereberht.

XXIX. That his body, after eleven years in the tomb, was found free from all decay: and a short time after his successor departed from this earth.

XXX. Dæt æt his reliquium nu niwan wæs sum man gehæled fram þære adle his eagan.

XXXI. Dæt oðer æt his byrigenne fram lyftadle wæs gehæled.

Her endað seo feorðe bóc.

Her onginneð seo fifte bóc.

I. Dæt Æðelwold Sc̄e Cuþberhtes æfterfyligend on ancersetle .ond life geseted þam winnendum broðrum on sæ gebiddende ðone storm he gesette 7 gestilde.

II. Dæt se biscop Iohannes ænne dumbne monn gebiddende gehælde.

III. Dæt se ylca biscop an adliende mæden gebiddende gehælde.

IIII. Dæt he anes gesiðmannes wif untrum mid gehalgode wætere gelacnode.

V. Dæt se ylca biscop anes gesiðmannes cniht gebiddende fram deaðe gecigde.

VI. Dæt he his preosta ænne of horse fallende 7 gebrysedne gelice gebiddende 7 bletsigende fram deaðe gecyrde.

VII. Dæt Ceadwala Westseaxna cyning to gefulliane com to Rome: swa eft his æfterfyligend Ine ða ylcan þærscwaldas þara eadigra apostola estful gesohte.

VIII. Dæt, forðferdum þeodoro, ðone arcebiscophád Beorhtwald onfeng; 7, betweox oðra monige þe he gehadode, eac swylce Tobium ðone gelæredestan wer ðære cyrican æt Hrofesceastre biscop gehalgode.

VIIII. Dæt se halga wer Ecbyrht becuman wolde on Germaniam to bodianne godcunde lare. Ac he ne mihte: ac Wihtbyrht ðyder becom for him, 7 ðær nowiht ne fremede; 7 þa eft wæs ham hweorfende on Scotland, þanon he ær becom.

X. Dæt Wilbrord on Frysena lande bodiende monega to Drihtne gecyrde: 7 þæt his geferan twegen healicne martyrdom wæron þrowiende.

XI. Dæt se arwurða wer Swiðbyrht on Breotone, 7 Wilbrord æt Rome biscopas wæron Fresna ðeode gehalgode.

XII. Dæt sum on Norðanhymbra mægðe of deaðe arisende sume

l. 20. , *postola* Ca. *apostola*. B. *estful* B. *eft* Ca. l. 21. *þeodore* Ca. *teodoro* B. l. 27. *for* B. *fro* Ca.

XXX. That quite lately a man was cured of an affection of the eyes at his relics.

XXXI. That another, at his tomb, was cured of palsy.

Here ends the fourth book.

Here begins the fifth book.

I. That Æthelwald, who succeeded St. Cuthbert, dwelt as a hermit, and by his prayers for brethren in distress at sea, calmed and stilled the storm.

II. That bishop John by his prayers cured a dumb man.

III. That the same bishop by his prayers cured a sick girl.

IV. That he cured the sick wife of a gesith with holy water.

V. That the same bishop by his prayers recalled from death the attendant of a gesith.

VI. That by his prayers and blessing he similarly recovered from death one of his priests, who had fallen from his horse and was bruised.

VII. That Ceadwalla, king of the West Saxons, went to Rome to be baptized: also later his successor Ine devoutly visited the same threshold of the blessed apostles.

VIII. That on the death of Theodore, Beorhtwald succeeded to the archbishopric, and among many others whom he ordained, consecrated the learned Tobias as bishop of the church at Rochester.

IX. That the holy man Ecgberht wished to visit Germany and preach the word of God. And he might not: but Wihtberht went there for him and effected nothing there; and then returned home again to Ireland, whence he first came.

X. That Wilbrord in Friesland by his preaching turned many to the Lord, and that his two companions suffered glorious martyrdom.

XI. That the venerable Swithberht in Britain and Wilbrord at Rome were consecrated as bishops for Friesland.

XII. That a man in Northumbria arose from the dead, and

swiðe ondryslicu 7 eac to gewilnienne, ða þe he geseah, secgende wæs.

XIII. Ðæt ongean þam oðer, to deaðe becumende, geseah him fram deoflum tobrohte beon ða boc his agenra synna.

XIIII. Ðæt eft oðer sweltende him þa getealdan stowe mid helwarum his agenra wita geseah.

XV. Ðæt monega cyricean on Hibernia lærendum Athamanó þa eallgeleaflican Eastran onfengon: 7 be Ealdelme, se ða bóc 'de uirginitate' 7 eac oðra manega geworhte: ge eac þæt Suðseaxan agenne biscopas onfengon Eadbyrht 7 Eollan; 7 Westseaxan onfengon Danielum 7 Aldelmum: 7 be Aldelmes gewritum.

XVI. Ðætte Cynred Mercna cyning 7 Offa Eastseaxna cyning on munuclicum hadum to Rome becom, 7 þær heora lif geendode: 7 be life 7 forðfore þæs arwurðan biscopes Wilfriðes.

XVII. Ðæt þam eaufæstan abbude Adriano Albinus æfterfyligde: 7 fram þam biscope Wilfriðe Acca his mæssepreost biscophade onfeng.

XVIII. Ðæt se abbud Ceolfrið Peohta cyninge, Neaton wæs haten, heahcræftigan somod 7 eac epistolam be healdnesse rihtre Eastran onsende.

XVIIII. Ðæt þa munecas on Hií þam ealonde mid him ðam underþeoddum mynstrum þa ða rihtgeleaffullan Eastran, bodiendum Ecbyrhte 7 lærendum, weorþian ongunnon.

XX. Be forðfore Tobias þæs biscopes æt Hrofesceastre 7 Ecgbyrhtes þæs arwurþan biscopes on ðone forman Easterdæg: 7 ðy ylcan geare forðferde Osric Norðanhymbra cyning.

XXI. Hwylc se staðol is on *and*weardnesse Angelcynnes þeode ge eac ealre Breotone.

LIBER PRIMUS[1].

p. 473 Cap. 1. Breoton ist garsecges ealond, ðæt wæs iu geara Albion haten: is geseted betwyh norðdæle and westdæle, Germanie 7 Gallie 7 Hispanie þam mæstum dælum Europe myccle fæce ongegen. Þæt is

l. 10. *westseaxan* B. *weast-* Ca. * l. 18. *wæs* B.: not in C. [1] The heading LIBER PRIMUS (SECUNDUS, etc.) occurs first on p. 13 of Ca., and thenceforward is continuous. The Roman numerals at the head of sections are also from Ca. Also in Ca. the first 25 words (in red) of the Latin Praefatio precede *Breoton*.

told of very fearful, but also very desirable things, which he saw.

XIII. That on the contrary another, on his death-bed, saw the book of his own sins brought to him by devils.

XIV. That again another, when dying, saw the place of his own punishment assigned to him among those in hell.

XV. That many churches in Ireland accepted the catholic Easter, on the teaching of Athaman: and of Ealdhelm, who wrote the book 'De Virginitate' and many others: and also that the South Saxons received as their own bishops Eadberht and Eolla; and the West Saxons received Daniel and Ealdhelm: and of the writings of Ealdhelm.

XVI. That Cynred, king of Mercia, and Offa, king of the East Saxons, came to Rome as monks, and there ended their lives: and of the life and death of the venerable bishop Wilfrid.

XVII. That Albin succeeded the pious abbot Adrian, and Acca his priest succeeded Wilfrid as bishop.

XVIII. That abbot Ceolfrid sent architects to Naiton, king of the Picts, and also an epistle on the correct observance of Easter.

XIX. That the monks in the isle of Iona, with the monasteries subject to them, began then to celebrate the orthodox Easter on the preaching and teaching of Ecgberht.

XX. Of the death of Tobias, bishop of Rochester, and the venerable bishop Ecgberht, on the first Easter day: and in the same year died Osric, king of Northumbria.

XXI. What the condition of the English and of all Britain is at present.

BOOK I.

Britain is an island in the ocean, formerly called Albion, lying between the north and the west, opposite, though far apart, to Germany, Gaul and Spain, the chief divisions of Europe. It

norð ehta hund mila lang, 7 tu hund mila brad. Hit hafað fram suðdæle þa mægþe ongean, þe mon hateþ Gallia Bellica. Hit is welig þis ealond on wæstmum 7 on treowum misenlicra cynna; 7 hit is gescræpe on læswe sceapa 7 neata; 7 on sumum stowum wingeardas growaþ. Swylce eac þeos eorþe is berende missenlicra fugela 7 sæwihta, 7 fiscumwyllum wæterum 7 wyllgespryngum. 7 her beoþ oft fangene seolas 7 hronas and mereswyn; 7 her beoþ oft numene missenlicra cynna weolcscylle 7 muscule, 7 on þam beoð oft gemette þa betstan meregrotan ælces hiwes. 7 her beoð swyþe genihtsume weolocas, of þam bið geweorht se weolocreada tælgh, þone ne mæg sunne blæcan ne ne regn wyrdan; ac swa he biþ yldra, swa he fægerra biþ. Hit hafað eac þis land sealtseaþas; 7 hit hafaþ hat wæter, 7 hat baðo ælcere yldo 7 hade ðurh todælede stowe gescræpe. Swylce hit is eac berende on wecga orum ares 7 isernes, leades 7 seolfres. Her biþ eac gemeted gagates: se stan bið blæc gym; gif mon hine on fyr deþ, þonne fleoþ þær heddran onweg. Wæs þis ealond eac geo gewurðad mid þam æðelestum ceastrum, anes wana þrittigum, ða þe wæron mid weallum 7 torrum 7 geatum 7 þam trumestum locum getimbrade, butan oðrum læssan unrim ceastra. 7 forðan ðe ðis ealond under þam sylfum norðdæle middangeardes nyhst ligeþ, 7 leohte nihte on sumera hafað,—swa þæt oft on middre nihte geflit cymeð þam behealdendum, hwæðer hit si þe æfenglommung ðe on morgen deagung—is on ðon sweotol, ðæt þis ealond hafað mycele lengran dagas on sumera, 7 swa eac nihta on wintra, þonne ða suðdælas middangeardes.

I.

p. 474. Ðis ealond nu on *and*weardnysse æft*er* ríme fif Moyses boca, ðam seo godcunde æ awriten is, fif ðeoda gereordum ænne wisdom þære hean soþfæstnysse 7 þære soðan heanesse smeað 7 andetteaþ; þæt is on Angolcynnes gereorde 7 Brytta 7 Scotta 7 Peohta 7

l. 6. *ferscum wille* (*r* crossed out) B. We should perhaps insert *onwille*, or *welig*. l. 11. *regn* C. *rén* B.: not in Ca. l. 20. *læs,an* Ca. *læssum* B. l. 24. *d,agung* Ca. *dagung* B.

runs northward for 800 miles, and is 200 miles broad. It has on the south opposite to it the province called Gallia Belgica. The island is rich in crops and trees of various kinds, and it is suited for grazing sheep and cattle, and vineyards are grown in some places. This land also produces birds of various kinds and marine animals, and (it abounds) in springs and waters full of fish. Seals, whales, and porpoises are often caught here, and various kinds of shell-fish and mussels are commonly taken, and in these are often found the finest pearls of every colour. There is also here abundance of molluscs, from which is made the dye of 'shell-fish red'; this neither the sun can bleach nor the rain mar, and it grows fairer with age. The land also has salt-pits and hot water, and hot baths in various localities, suitable for every age and both sexes; it also produces ores of copper and iron, lead and silver in masses. Jet is also found here, which is a black gem; if put in the fire, adders fly from it. Formerly this island was also embellished with the noblest of towns, twenty-nine in number, furnished with walls, towers, gates and the strongest of locks, besides countless other towns of smaller size. As this island lies close under the very north of the world and the nights here are light in summer—so that often at midnight a question arises among the spectators, whether it is the evening gloaming or morning dawn—by this it is clear that the days are much longer in this island in summer, and also the nights in winter, than in the southern parts of the world.

I.

At this present time the island studies and acknowledges one and the same science of sublime truth and true sublimity in the tongues of five nations, according to the number of the five books of Moses, in which the Divine law is written; that is in the tongues of the English, Britons, Scots, Picts and Latins. This one, the Latin, is

Ledenwara: þæt an is, þæt Leden, on smeaunge gewrita eallum þam oðrum gemæne.

On fruman ærest wæron þysses ealondes bigengan Bryttas ane, fram þam hit naman onfeng. Is þæt sæd, ðæt hi comon fram Armoricano þære mægeþe on Breotone, 7 þa suðdælas þyses ealondes him gesæton 7 gealnodon.

Þa gelamp æfter þon þætte Peahte ðeod com of Scyððia lande on scipum 7 þa ymbærndon eall Breotone gemæro, þæt hi comon on Scotland upp, 7 þær gemetton Sceotta þeode, 7 him bædon setles 7 eardungstowe on heora lande betwyh him. *And*swearedon Scottas, þæt heora land ne wære to þæs mycel, þæt hi mihton twa þeode gehabban. Ac cwædon: We magon eow sellan halwende geþeahte, hwæt ge don magon. We witan heonan noht feor oðer ealond eastrihte, þæt we magon oft leohtum dagum geseon. Gif ge þæt secan wyllaþ, þonne magon ge þær eardungstowe habban: oððe gif hwylc eow wiðstondeð, þonne gefultumiað we eow. Ða ferdon Peohtas in Breotone, 7 ongunnon eardigan þa norðdælas þyses ealondes; 7 Bryttas, swa we ær cwædon, ða suðdælas. Mid þy Peohtas wif næfdon, bædon him fram Scottum. Ða geþafedon hi ðære arednesse, 7 him wif sealdon, þæt ðær seo wise on tweon cyme, þæt hi ðonne ma of þam wifcynne him cyning curan þonne of þam wæpnedcynne: þæt get to dæg is mid Peohtum healden.

Ða, forþgongenre tide, æfter Bryttum 7 Peohtum, þridde cynn Scotta Breotone onfeng on Pehta dæle, ða wæron cumene of Hibernia Scotta ealonde mid heora heretogan, Reada hatte: oðþa mid freondscipe oðþa mid gefeohte him sylfum betwih hi seðel 7 eardungstowe geahnodon, þa hi nu get habbað. Þæt cynn nu
p. 4 geond to dæg Dalreadingas wæron hatene.

Hibernia Scotta ealond ge on brædo his stealles ge on halwendnesse ge on smyltnysse lyfta is betere mycle þonne Breotone land, swa þæt ðær seldon snau leng ligeð þonne ðry dagas. 7 þær nænig mann for wintres cyle on sumera heg ne máweþ, ne scypene his neatum ne timbreþ. Ne þær monn ænigne snicendne wyrm ne

l. 26 *oðþa . . . 7 þa* Ca. *oðde . . . oðþe* B. l. 29. *geond* Ca. *gyt* B. (perhaps we should read *geona* and *earon*). l. 30. *ge* B. *is* Ca.

common to all the others, in the study of the Scriptures. At the very first the Britons were the sole inhabitants of this island, which received its name from them. They, it is said, came into Britain from the province of Armorica, and occupied and appropriated the southern parts of this island. Subsequently it happened, that the Picts came in ships from Scythia, and passed round the whole British coast, till they landed in Ireland. And there they found Scots, and prayed for a settlement and dwelling-place in their country among them. Then the Scots answered, that their land was not large enough to contain two nations. But they said: We can give you sound advice, as to what you may do. We know, not far from this, another island to the east, which we can often see on clear days. If you will proceed there, you may find a dwelling-place: or if any oppose you, we will assist you. Then the Picts landed in Britain, and began to occupy the north of this island, the south, as we said before, being in the hands of the Britons. Now as the Picts had no wives, they asked wives from the Scots. These consented to give them, on condition that, if the matter was doubtful, they should choose the sovereign rather from the female line than from the male; which custom is still observed among the Picts to this day. In the course of time, next after the Britons and the Picts, a third race, that of the Scots, occupied Britain within the borders of the Picts. They came from Ireland, the island of the Scots, with their leader named Reada, and partly on friendly terms, partly after a struggle, secured for themselves a settlement and dwelling-place among them, which they still hold. Up to this day the race is called Dalreadings. Ireland, the island of the Scots, is far superior to Britain in the breadth of its conformation and in salubrity and mildness of climate, so that snow seldom lies there more than three days. No one there mows hay or builds for his cattle, as a provision against winter's cold. No [illegible]nous reptile is to be seen there, nor indeed may any viper there; for vipers have been brought on board ship from

ætterne gesihþ; ne þær ænig nædre lifian ne mæg. Forþon of Breotone nædran on scipum lædde wæron: sona swa hi ðæs landes lyft gestuncan, swa swulton hi. Eac neah þan ealle þa ðing, þe ðanon cumaþ, wiþ ælcum attre magon. *Þæt* to tacne is, *þæt* sume menn gesawon, ða þe wæron fra*m* nædran geslegene, *þæt* man scof þara boca leaf, þe of Hibernia coman, 7 þa sceafþan dyde on wæter, 7 sealde drincan þam mannu*m*; 7 sona wæs *þæt* atter ofernumen, 7 hi wæron gehælde. Is *þæt* ealond welig on meolcum 7 on hunige; 7 wingeardas weaxaþ on sumu*m* stowum. 7 hit is fiscwylle 7 fugolwylle, 7 mære on huntunge heorta 7 rana. Þis is agendlice Scotta eðel; heonon coman seo ðridde ðeod Scotta, swa we ær cwædon, eac be Bryttu*m* 7 Peohtu*m* on Breotone.

II.[1]

p. 475. Cap. 2. Wæs Breotene ealond Romanu*m* uncuþ, oþþæt Gaius se casere, oðre naman Iulius, hit mid ferde gesohte 7 geeode syxtygum wintra ær Cristes cyme.

III.

Cap. 3. Ða æfte*r* þon Claudius se casere, se wæs feorþa fra*m* Agusto eft fyrde gelædde on Breotone, 7 þær butan hefegum gefeohte 7 blodgyte mycelne dæl þæs landes on anweald onfeng. Swylce he eac Orcadas þa ealond, þa wæron ut on garsecge butan Brotone, to Romwara rice geþeodde. 7 þy syxtan monðe, þe he hider com, he eft to Rome hwearf. Ðeos fyrd wæs getogen ðy feorðan geare his rices, *þæt* gér wæs fra*m* Cristes hidercyme *þæt* sixte eac feowertigu*m*.

Fra*m* þam ylcan casere Claudie wæs sended Uespassianus on Breotone, se æfte*r* Nerone ricsode. Se geeode *þæt* ealond † on Wiht 7 Romana onwealde underþeodde. *Þæt* is þrittiges mila lang east 7 west, 7 twelf mila brad suð 7 norð. Ða feng Neron to rice æfte*r* Claudie þam casere. Se naht freomlices ongan on þære cynewisan, ac betwuh oðera unrim æwyrdleana Romwara þæt he Breotone rice forlet.

[1] This chapter is wanting in B.

l. 14. *fyrde* Ca. *fyrde* B.

Britain, but they died as soon as they smelt the air of the land. Besides, almost everything from that country is efficacious against all poisons. In proof of this, men have been seen, who were bitten by vipers; shavings have been taken from leaves of books brought over from Ireland and put into water and given to the men to drink, and at once the poison was overpowered and the men cured. The island is rich in milk and honey, and vineyards grow in some places. It abounds in fish and fowl, and is famous for hunting the hart and the roe. This is the proper home of the Scots; hence came that third race of Scots mentioned above, as dwelling in Britain along with Britons and Picts.

II.

The island of Britain was unknown to the Romans, till the emperor Gaius, also called Julius, came with an army and overran it, sixty years before the advent of Christ.

III.

After this the emperor Claudius, who was fourth from Augustus, again led an army into Britain, and there, without serious resistance or bloodshed, took possession of a great part of the country. He also united to the Roman empire the Orkneys, islands out in the ocean beyond Britain. He returned again to Rome within six months of his first coming. This expedition was made in the fourth year of his reign, which was the forty-sixth from the advent of Christ. The same emperor Claudius dispatched Vespasian to Britain, who became emperor after Nero. He overran the Isle of Wight also, and brought it under the Roman dominion. It is thirty miles long east and west, and twelve miles broad north and south. Nero succeeded to Claudius. He did no service in the state, but among countless other disasters to the Roman empire, he also lost the dominion of Britain.

IIII.

Cap. 4. Ða wæs fram Cristes hidercyme hundteontig 7 fiftig 7 six gear, þæt Marcus, oþre naman Antonius, se wæs feowerteoþa fram Agusto þam casere, se onfeng Romwara rice mid Aurelia his breðer. Ðara cyninga tidum wæs se halga wer Eleuther biscop 7 papa þare Romaniscan cyrican. Sende to him Lucíus Breotone cyning ærendgewrit; bæd hine 7 halsade, þæt he þurh his bebod cristene gefremed wære. 7 hraðe þa gefremednesse ðære arfæstan bene wæs fylgende. 7 ða onfengan Bryttas fulluhte 7 Cristes geleafan, 7 ðone onwealhne 7 unwemmedne on smyltre sibbe heoldan oþ Deoclitianes tide þæs yfelan caseres.

V.

476. p. 5. Ða wæs ymb hundteontig wintra 7 nigan 7 hundeahtatig wintra fram Drihtnes menniscnysse, þæt Seuerus casere, se wæs Æffrica cynnes, of þære byrig ðe Lepti hatte,—se wæs seofonteogeða fram Agusto—þæt he rice onfeng, 7 þæt hæfde seofontyne gear. Þes casere framlice rehte ða cynewisan, ac hwæðere mid gewinne. He com on Breotone mid fyrde, 7 þær mid myclum 7 hefegum gefeohtum mycelne dæl þæs ealondes on anweald onfeng; 7 hit begyrde 7 gefæstnade mid dice 7 mid eorðwealle from sæ to sæ fram oðrum elreordum þeodum. 7 he ðær on Eoforwicceastre adle forðferde; 7 Basianus his sunu feng to Breotenrice.

VI.

þ. 6. Ða wæs ymb tu hund wintra 7 syx 7 hundeahtatig æfter þære Drihtenlican mennyscnysse, þæt Dioclitianus casere, se wæs fram Agusto ðridde eac ðrittigum, se hæfde twentig wintra rice. Se geceas Maximianum him to fultume his rices ge sealde him westdæl middaneardes. 7 he onfeng cynegewædum 7 com on Breotone. Þa betwyh ða monigan yfel þe hi dydon, Dioclitianus in estdæle middangeardes 7 Maximianus on westdæle, hi hendon 7 hergedon

l. 5. *lucíus* B. *lucias* Ca. *cyning* B. *cyninge* Ca. l. 9. *onwealhne* 7 B. *anweald* Ca. *onwald* C. l. 26. *in estdæle* to *Maximianus* B., wanting in Ca. l. 27. *hyndon* Ca. *hyndon* B.

IV.

Then came the hundred and fifty-sixth year after Christ's advent, and Marcus, also called Antonius, who was fourteenth from the emperor Augustus, succeeded to the Roman empire jointly with his brother Aurelius. In the time of these kings the holy Eleutherus was bishop and pope of the Roman church. To him Lucius, king of Britain, sent a letter, praying and entreating, that under his direction he might be converted to christianity. And his pious request was quickly carried into effect. Then the Britons received baptism and the faith of Christ, and maintained it unimpaired and undefiled in quiet and peace till the time of Diocletian the bad emperor.

V.

Then came the hundred and eighty-ninth year from the incarnation of Christ, and the emperor Severus, who was an African by descent, from the town called Leptis, succeeded to the empire, and held it for seventeen years. He was seventeenth from Augustus. This emperor governed the state vigorously, but yet not without toil. He brought over a force to fight in Britain, and there, after prolonged and severe encounters, recovered a great part of the island; he then surrounded and fortified it with a ditch and rampart from sea to sea, severing it from the other barbarous tribes. He died from illness in the island at York; and Bassianus his son succeeded to the government of Britain.

VI.

It was then about two hundred and eighty-six years after the incarnation of our Lord, when the emperor Diocletian, who was the thirty-third from Augustus, filled the throne for twenty years. He chose Maximian as his coadjutor, and assigned him the western portion of the world. The latter on assuming the purple came to Britain.

Then among the many ill deeds done by them, Diocletian in the East and Maximian in the West afflicted and harassed the

Godes cyrican 7 yfeledon, 7 slogan cristene men. Onfengon hi ða teoþan stowe on ehtnysse Godes cyrcena æfter Nerone casere. Wæs seo ehtnysse þyssa arleasra cyninga unmetra 7 singalre eallum þam ærgedonum on middanearde, forðon ðurh tyn winter full Godes cyricena hynnysse 7 unsceaððiendra fordemednesse 7 slege haligra martyra unblinnendlice don wæs. Wæs eac Bryten þa swyðe gehyned on myclum wundre Godes geleafan 7 ondetnysse.

VII.

Cap. 7. Swylce eac on þa tid on Breotone wæs ðrowiende Scs Albanus be þam Fortunatus *presbyter* on fæmnena lofe, ða he gemy negode þara eadigra martyra, ða þe of eallum middangeardc to Drihtne coman, cwæð he: Þone æðelan Albanu*m* seo wæstm berende Bryton forðbereð. Wæs he Albanus hæðen ða gyt, þa ðara treowleasra cyninga beboda wið cristenum monnu*m* grimsedon. Ða gelamp *þæt* he sumne Godes mann preosthades, se wæs ða reþan ehteras fleonde, on gestliðnysse onfeng. And mid þy ðe he hine þa geseah on singalum gebedum 7 wæccum dæges 7 nihtes p. 477. beon abysgadne, þa wæs he semninga mid þa*m* godcundan gyfe gesawen 7 gemildsad. 7 he sona bysene his geleafan 7 arfæstnesse onhyrigean ongan; 7 swylce eac sticcemælum his þam halwendan. trymnyssu*m* wæs gelæred, *þæt* he forlet þa ðystro deofulgylda 7 of inneweardre heortan cristen wæs geworden.

Mid þy ða se foresprecena Godes man fela daga mid hi*m* wæs on gestliðnesse, þa becom *þæt* to earan þæs manfullan ealdor mannes, *þæt* Albanus hæfde ðone Cristes andettere digollice mi him. Ða het he hraðe his þegnas hine secan 7 acsian. Ða son þæs þe hi coman to þæs martyres huse, þa Scs Albanus for ða cuman, þe he gefeormade, gegyrede hine ða his munucgegyrelan 7 eode hi*m* on hond. 7 hi hine gebundenne to hi*m* læddo Ða gelamp hit on þa ylcan tid, þe Albanus to him gelæded wæ *þæt* he se dema stod æt his godgyldum 7 deoflum onsægdnes bær. Mid þy ðe he geseah Scm Albanu*m*, þa wæs he sona yr

l. 3. *arleasre* Ca. *-ra* B. l. 11. *wæs,m-* Ca. *-wæsm-* B. l. 19. *byrigean* Ca. *onhyrian* B. l. 28. *hi hine* B. *hī hine* Ca. l. 31. *geseah beseah* Ca.

churches of God, and illtreated and slew christians. These emperors occupy the tenth place among the persecutors of God's church since the emperor Nero. The persecution of these impious kings was more violent and continuous than any before in the world, for with burning of God's churches and condemnation of the innocent and slaughter of holy martyrs it went on incessantly for ten years' time. Britain also was sorely afflicted, to the great glory of the faith and confession of God.

VII.

At this time also St. Alban suffered in Britain, of whom the priest Fortunatus, in his 'Laus Virginum,' when mentioning the blessed martyrs, who came from all the earth to the Lord, thus spoke: 'Fruitful Britain produces the noble Albanus.' Albanus was still a heathen, when the commands of the faithless kings burst forth in fury against christians. It so happened that he entertained a pious man of the priesthood, who was fleeing from the cruel persecutors. And when he saw him day and night busied in continual prayers and vigils, then was Alban suddenly visited by the mercy of God's grace. And he soon began to imitate the example of his belief and piety; and also gradually was taught, by his saving exhortations, to leave the darkness of idol worship and become with sincere heart a christian man. Now when the aforesaid man of God had been entertained many days by Alban, it came to the ears of the sinful governor, that Alban had this servant and confessor of Christ concealed in his house. Then he quickly ordered his attendants to go and demand him. As soon as they came to the martyr's house, St. Alban put on the monk's dress, substituting himself for the stranger who was his guest, and gave himself into their hands. And they brought him bound to the governor. Now it happened at the very time, when Alban was led to him, that the governor stood by his idols and offered sacrifice to devils. On seeing Alban he at once burst into a passion, because the saint wil-

geworden, forþam he mid his sylfes willum geþristade, *þæt* he hine sylfne on geweald sealde swylcere frecednysse for þam cuman, þe he on gestliðnysse gefeormode. Het hine ða teon 7 lædan to ðam deofolgyldum, ðe he æt stod; cwæð him þus to: Forðon ðe ðu þone mangengan 7 þone wiþfeohtend 7 þone forhycgend ura goda † ðu me helan woldest, swyðor þonne minum ðegnum secgean, þonne wite ðu þæt þu scealt ðam ylcan wite onfon, ðe he geearnode, gif ðu gewitan ðencest fram þam bigange ure æfestnysse. And Scs Albanus ða mid his sylfes willan cyðde 7 openade þam ehterum Godes geleafan, þæt he cristen wære. 7 he ne wæs ondredende ða beotunge þæs ealdormannes, ac he begyrded wæs mid wæpnum þæs gastlican camphades; 7 he openlice sæde þæt he his bebodum hyrsumian ne wolde. Ða cwæð he se ealdorman 7 se dema him to Saga me hwylces hiredes 7 hwylces cynnes þu si. And þa *and*swarede him Scs Albanus: Hwæt limpeþ þæs to ðe of hwylcum wyrtruman ic acenned si? Ac gif ðu wylle gehyran þæt soþ minre æfestnysse, þonne wite þu me cristene beon: 7 ic cristenum þenungum ðeowian wylle. Þa cwæð he se dema: Gesaga me þinne naman, hwæt ðu haten sie. Þa cwæð he: Albanus ic eom geciged fram minum yldrum; 7 þone soðan God 7 þone lifigendan, se gescop heofon 7 eorðan 7 ealle gesceafta, ic symble bigange, 7 me to him gebidde. Þa wæs he se dema yrre geworden; cwæð him to: Gif ðu wille þysses lifes gesælignysse mid us brucan, ne yld þu þæt þu þam myclan godum mid us onsecge. Ða andswarede Scs Albanus Ða onsægdnysse, þa ðe fram eow deoflum wæron agoldene, magon hi ðam underðeoddum gefulltumian, ne heora lustas heora willan gefyllan. Ac gyt soþre is, swa hwylc man swa þissu onlicnyssum 7 deofolgyldum ansægdnysse bereð, se forðam me onfehð, þæt is ecum tintregum helle wites. Ða se dema þas wo gehyrde, ða wæs he mid miclum wylme 7 yrre onstyred; het 7 bebead hraðe swingan 7 tintregian ðone Godes andette Tealde 7 wende þæt he mid swinglan sceolde þa * beldu 7 anrednesse his heortan anescian, ða he mid wordum ne mihte. he ða mid grimmum swinglum 7 tintregum wæced wæs, 7 he

l. 20. *þone lifigendan* B. *þone soðan lifigendan* Ca. l. 32. *be byldo* B.

fully presumed to give himself over to such risk in place of the stranger, whom he entertained as guest. Then he ordered him to be taken and dragged before the idols by which he stood, and thus spoke: 'As you sought to conceal from me the impious foe and scorner of our gods rather than betray him to my servants, know that you shall receive the same punishment as he earned, if you think to withdraw from the worship of our religion.' Then St. Alban voluntarily declared and confessed to the persecutors of God's faith, that he was a christian man. Nor did he fear the governor's threats, but girding himself with the armour of spiritual warfare, openly said that he would not obey his commands. Then said the governor and judge to him: 'Tell me of what family and of what race thou art.' Then St. Alban answered: 'What matters it to you from what stock I am sprung? But if you wish to hear the truth as to my religion, know that I am a christian, and will devote myself to christian services.' Then said the judge: 'Tell me thy name by which thou art called.' Then said he: 'I am called Alban by my parents; and I ever worship and pray to the true and living God who created heaven and earth and all creatures.' Then the judge grew angry, and said to him, 'If you wish to enjoy with us happiness in this life, delay not to join us in worshipping the great gods.' Then answered St. Alban: 'The sacrifices which were offered by you to devils cannot benefit the devil's subjects, nor fulfil their lusts and their will; nay more, whoever offers to these images and idols, for that receives his reward, the eternal pains of hell torments.' When the judge heard those words he was stirred with great wrath and fury. Then he ordered his men at once to scourge and torture this confessor of God, for he reckoned and supposed that by scourging he would weaken his courage and the steadfastness of his heart, though he could not by words. And then the saint was afflicted with grievous scourging and tortures, and he bore and

þa witu, ðe *him* man dyde, geþyldelice 7 gefeonde for Drihtne abær 7
p. 478. aræfnde. Þa se dema *þæt* ða oncneow 7 þa ongæt, *þæt* he hine mid tintregu*m* 7 mid swinglan oferswiðan ne mihte, ne from þam bigonge ðære cristenan æfestnysse acyrran, þa het he hine heafde beceorfan.

Mid ðy he þa to deaðe gelæded wæs, þa com he to swiðstremre eá, seo floweþ neah ðære ceastre wealle. 7 he geseah ðær micle menigo monna æghwæðeres hades; 7 wæron missenlicræ yldo 7 getinege men. Seo menigo monna butan tweon mid godcundre onbryrdnysse wæs geciged to þenunge ðæs eadigan martyres. 7 hi swa ðæs streames bryege abysgade wæron *þæt* hi hwene ær æfenne oferfaran ne mihten; 7, neah ðon eallum utagangendum, *þæt* se dema butan ðenunge abád on þære ceastre. And ða Sc̄s Albanus, on ðam wæs byrnende wilsumnes modes, *þæt* he recenust to þrowunge become, eode ða to þære burnan þe ic ær sæde, 7 his eagan ahóf upp to heofonum, þa sona adrugode se stream 7 beah for his fotum, swa *þæt* he mihte dryge ofergangan. Þa ðis wundor ða geseah betwuh oðre se sylfa cwellere ðe hine slean sceolde, þa wæs he sona mid godcundre onbryrdnysse innan monad, *þæt* he wearp *þæt* sweord onweg *þæt* he on handa hæfde, 7 *him* to fotu*m* feoll; 7 he geornlice bæd 7 wilnade, *þæt* he mid ðone martyr oððe for hine þrowian moste, ðe he ær slean sceolde. Ða wæs þes man ðurh Godes gyfe of ehtere geworden soðfæstnesse freond on*d* Cristes geleafan. And þa astah se arwurðesta Godes andettere mid þa menigeo on þa dune upp, seo wæs ða tidlice grene 7 fæger 7 mid misenlicu*m* blostmu*m* wyrta † afed 7 gegyred æghwyder ymbutan. Wæs *þæt* þæs wyrðe, þæt seo stow swa wlitig 7 swa fæger wære, þe eft sceolde mid þy blode ðæs eadigan martyres gewurðad 7 gehalgod weorþan. On þysse dune ufanweardre bæd Sc̄s Albanus fra*m* Gode him wæter seald beon to sumre his þenunge. 7 þa sona hraðe beforan his fotum wæs wyl upp yrnende, *þæt* ealle menn ongytan mihtan, *þæt* ðæt wæte*r* to his þenunge sended wæs, þe he ær to Gode wilnade. 7 nu seo wylle 7 *þæt* wæter, gefylledre wilsumnesse

l. 12. *utagangende* Ca. *utgangendum* B. l. 27. *afed* Ca. *afægrod* C. B. cp. i. 25. l. 28. *wlitig* C. B. *welig* Ca.

endured with patience and joy all the pains inflicted on him for the Lord's sake. When the judge perceived this, and saw that he could not conquer him with torture or scourging, nor turn him from the worship of the christian religion, he ordered him to be beheaded. As he was led to death, he came to a very rapid stream which flows near the town wall. And he saw there a great crowd of persons of both sexes, of various ages and ranks. The crowd was doubtless summoned by an inspiration from heaven as an escort for the blessed martyr: and they were so detained by the bridge over the river that it was hardly possible to cross till a little before evening. And as almost all had gone forth, the judge remained in the town without escort. And when St. Alban, in whom there was a burning fervour of mind to attain with all speed to his martyrdom, came to the brook which I mentioned before, and lifted up his eyes to heaven, then the stream at once dried up and gave way before his feet, so that he could pass over dry shod. When among others the executioner, who should slay him, saw this marvel, he was at once inwardly warned by the inspiration of divine grace, so that he threw the sword away, that he held in his hand and fell at his feet; and he earnestly prayed and desired that he might suffer with the martyr whom he was to have slain, or in his place. So by God's grace was this man turned from a persecutor into a friend of the truth and of the faith of Christ. Then went up the venerated confessor of God on the hill with the crowd, which was then green with the season, and fair and painted and adorned on all sides with flowers of various plants. And this was meet, that the place should be so comely and so fair, which afterwards was to be glorified and sanctified with the blood of this blessed martyr. On the top of this hill St. Alban prayed that water might be given him for his use by God. Then, at once, a fountain quickly sprang up before his feet, so that all men might perceive that this water was sent for his service, as he already desired of God. And now the fountain and the water,

7 ðære ðenunge þæs eadigan martyres wæs forlætende ða cyþnysse þære ðenunge, 7 hwearf eft to gecynde. Wæs seo stow hwæthwugu on healfre mile fram þære ceastre wealle, 7 fram þære burnan þe he ær drigum fotum ofereode. Ðær wæs þa heafde beslagen se strengesta martyr Scs Albanus, 7 þær he onfeng beah 7 sige eces lífes, þone ylcan sige God behét eallum þam ðe hine lufian wyllað. Ac se cwellere, se ðe his arlease handa aðenede ofer þone arfæstan sweoran ðæs martyres 7 his heafod of asloh, ne wæs he forlæten þæt he ofer him deadum gefege: ac him ða eagan of his heafde ascuton 7 ætgædere mid þæs martyres heafde on eorðan feollan. Ða wæs eac swylce heafde beslegen 7 gemartyrad se mon, se ðe wæs ær ðon mid þam uplican mihte geðread, þæt he wiðsoc þæt he ðone Godes andettere sloge. Be þam ðonne cuð is, þeah ðe he mid wætere fulluhtes bæþes aþwegen ne wære, þæt he wæs hwæðere mid þy bæðe his blodes geclænsad 7 ðæs heofonlican rices wyrðe geworden. Ða wæs se dema æfter ðyssum mid þa neownysse swa monigra heofonlicra wundra swyþe gedrefed 7 gefyrhted, het þa sona blinnan fram ehtnysse cristenra
p. 479. manna, 7 ongan arweorþian ða þrowunge þara haligra martyra, þurh ða he ær wende þæt he hi acyrran meahte fram æfestnysse þæs cristenan geleafan. Wæs he þrowigende se eadiga Albanus ðy teoðan dæge Kalendarum Iuliarum neah ðære ceastre, ðe Romane heton Uerolamium, seo nu fram Angelðeode Werlameceaster oþþe Wæclingaceaster is nemned. Ða wæs sona, æfter þon þæt smyltnes com cristenra tida, þæt ðær wæs cyrice geworht 7 getimbrad wundorlices geweorces 7 his þrowunge 7 martyrdome wyrþe. On ðære stowe nu soðlice oð ðysne andwardan dæg untrumra manna hælo 7 wyrcnes heofonlicra mægena gelomlice beoð mærsade, 7 monigfealde wundra gelimpað.

Wæron eac swylce þrowiende on ða tíd Ááron 7 Iulilius, þa wæron burhwarumen on Ligeceastre, 7 eac oðre monige æghwæðeres hades on missenlicum stowum, ða wæron missenlicum cwealmnyssum ðreste 7 ungeheredre leoma toslitnysse wundade.

l. 17. *neowwlnysse* (dots below and stroke through *ul*) Ca. *mid þa n.* not in B. l. 28. *hælo onfoð* Ca. B. omits *onfoð*.

having fulfilled devotion and service to the holy martyr, returned to its natural condition and ceased to give evidence of this service. The place was about half a mile from the wall of the town and from the brook which he crossed before dry shod.

Then was this most brave martyr St. Alban beheaded there, and received the victorious crown of eternal life, which God has promised to all who will love him. But the executioner, who stretched forth his impious hands against the pious neck of this martyr and struck off his head, was not permitted to rejoice over his death; his eyes shot out of his head and fell to the earth with the head of the martyr. Then was also beheaded and martyred the man, who had before been rebuked by the heavenly power and refused to be the slayer of God's confessor. As to him, it is certain, though he was not washed with the water of baptism, that he nevertheless was cleansed by the washing of his blood, and made worthy of the kingdom of heaven. Thereupon the judge, much troubled and affrighted by the strangeness of so many heavenly wonders, at once ordered them to cease from the persecution of christians, and began to honour the sufferings of the holy martyrs, by which he previously supposed he could turn them from their devotion to the christian faith. The blessed Alban suffered on the 22nd of June close to the town which the Romans called Verolamium, and is now named by the English Werlameceaster or Wæclingaceaster. Soon after that a season of serenity for christians came, and there was a church wrought and built there of admirable structure, worthy of his passion and martyrdom. At that spot indeed, up to the present day, are still often proclaimed cures of the sick and the performance of divine miracles, and manifold wonders take place. At the same time suffered also Aaron and Julius, who were burgesses of Chester; and many others also of both sexes, in various places, were racked with various tortures and lacerated with unheard-of rending of their limbs. Their strife

Fulfremede compe heora sawle to gefean sendon þære upplican ceastre heofona rices wuldres.

VIII.[1]

Cap. 8. And þæs ðe þa seo costnung ðære ehtnesse gestilled wæs, þa wæron forðgongende þa cristenan men 7 ða geleafsuman, þa þe hi ær on ða frecnan tid þære ehtnysse on wudum 7 on westenu*m* 7 scræfu*m* hi hyddon 7 digledon. 7 hi ða edniwedon Godes cyricean þa ðe ær toworpene wæron, 7 eac cyricean timbredon 7 halgodon þam halgum martyru*m*, 7 heora stowe hræddon 7 weorðodon, swa swa sigefæst tacon, 7 symbeldagas mærsedan; 7 þa godcundan geryno clænan muðe 7 clænre heortan halgedon 7 fremedon. Þeos sibb áwunade on Cristes cyrican, ða þe on Brytene wæron, oð ða tide þe se Arrianisca gedweolda aras. Ðyssum tidu*m* Constantinus, se be Diocletiane lyfgendum Gallia rice 7 Ispania heold 7 rehte,—wæs se mon monðwære 7 for weorulde gód—ferde he forð on Breotone; 7 Constantinus his sunu þam godan casere, se wæs of Eléna þam wife acenned, his rice forlét. Writeð Eutropius *þæt* Constantinus se casere wære on Breotone acenned, 7 æfte*r* his fæder to rice feng. Þæs cyninges tidum se Arrianisca gedwola wæs upcumen; 7 *þæt* deadbærende attor his getreowleasnysse, nalæs *þæt* on eallum middangeardes cyricum *þæt* he stregde, ac hit eac swylce on þis ealond becom. Se gedweola wæs on þa*m* Nyceaniscan sinoþe geniðerad 7 afylled on Constantinus dagum.

IX.[2]

p. 480. Cap. 11. Ða wæs ymb feower hund wintra 7 seofone æfte*r* Drihtnes menniscnysse; feng to rice Honorius casere, se wæs feorða eac feowertigum fra*m* Agusto þa*m* casere—twam gearum ær Romaburh abrocen 7 forhergad wære. Seo hergung wæs þurh Alaricum Gotena cyning geworden. Wæs Romaburh abrocen fra*m* Gotum

l. 1. *sendon* B. *syndon* (*e* late?) Ca., cp. ii. 12, iii. 15. [1] XI Ca. (the numbering to the end of Bk. I is confused, perhaps altered: see note to XV). l. 8. *bræd,on* Ca. *bræddon* B. l. 13. *Constantinus* (*Cōstantius* in margin is modern) Ca. *-tinus* C. *Constanti.us* (*n* erased) B. *be Diocletianū liftendum* B. *bæd Dioclyane fylgendum*, the *d* struck through in modern ink:

being ended, they gave up their souls, to enter the joys of the city above amid the glory of the kingdom of heaven.

VIII.

When the trials of this persecution quieted down, faithful christians came forth, who previously, in the dangerous times of persecution, lay hid in woods and wastes and caves. They repaired God's churches which had been thrown down, and built and consecrated others in honour of the holy martyrs, extending and honouring their sites in token of victory and celebrating their festivals, and hallowed and performed the divine mysteries with pure mouth and pure heart. This peace ever continued in the churches of Christ, which were in Britain up to the time when the Arian heresy arose. In these times died Constantinus in Britain. He held and swayed the empire of Gaul and Spain in the lifetime of Diocletianus, and was a man of much clemency and goodness in the world. He left his power to his son Constantine, the good emperor, who was born of his wife Helen. Eutropius writes that the emperor Constantine was born in Britain, and succeeded his father on the throne. In this king's time the Arian heresy arose; and the deadly poison of his unbelief he spread not only to all churches in the world, but it also came into this island. This heresy was condemned and crushed in the days of Constantine at the Council of Nicæa.

IX.

It was then about 407 years after our Lord's incarnation; Honorius was on the throne, being the forty-fourth from the emperor Augustus; and it was two years before Rome was taken and devastated. The devastation was caused by Alaric, king of the Goths. The capture by the Goths took place about 1164 years

fylgendum rudely altered to *lyfgendum* (modern) Ca. l. 14. *heol*[d] Ca. *heold* B. *mon* (above line modern ?) Ca. *mann* B. l. 22. *dweol*[ge] Ca. *dwola* B. *nyceaniscan* (part of *y* and nearly all *a* erased) Ca. *niwan* B. (Read *niceniscan* ?). [2] XII Ca.

ymb þusend wintra 7 hundteontig 7 feower 7 syxtig ðæs þe heo geworht wæs. Of þære tide Romane blunnun ricsian on Breotene. Hæfdon hi Breotona rice feower hund wintra 7 þæs fiftan hundseofontig, ðæs ðe Gaius, oðre naman Iulius, se casere þæt ylce ealond gesohte. 7 ceastre 7 torras 7 stræta 7 brycge on heora rice geworhte wæron, þa we to dæg sceawian magon. Eardædon Bryttas binnan þam dice to suðdæle, þe we gemynegodon þæt Seuerus se casere het þwyrs ofer þæt ealond gedician.

Cap. 12. Þa ongunnan twa ðeoda Pyhtas norðan 7 Scottas westan hi onwinnan 7 heora æhta niman 7 hergian; 7 hi fela geara yrmdon 7 hyndon. Ða on ðære unstilnysse onsendon hi ærendwrecan to Rome mid gewritum 7 wependre bene: him fultumes bædon, 7 him gehetan eaðmode hyrnysse 7 singale underþeodnysse, gif hi him gefultumadon þæt hi mihton heora fynd oferwinnan. Ða onsendan hi him mycelne here to fultume. 7 sona þæs ðe hi on þis ealond comon, þa cómpedon hi wið heora feondum, 7 him mycel wæl ongeslogan, 7 of heora gemærum adrifon 7 aflymdon. 7 lærdon þæt hi fæsten worhtan him to gebeorge wið heora feondum: 7 swa mid mycele sige ham foran.

Ða þæt ða ongeaton ða ærran gewinnan þæt se Romanisca here wæs onweg gewiten, ða coman hi sona mid sciphere on heora landgemæro, 7 slogan eall 7 cwealdon þæt hi gemetton; 7 swa swa ripe yrð fortreddon 7 fornamon, 7 hi mid ealle foryrmdon. And hi ða eft sendon ærendracan to Rome 7 wæpendre stefne him fultumes bædon, þæt þæt earme eðel mid ealle ne fordiligad ne wære, ne se nama ðære Romaniscan þeode, se ðe mid him swa lange scéan 7 bryhte, fram fremdra ðeoda ungeþwærnesse fornumen 7 fordilgad beon sceolde. Þa wæs eft here hider sended, se wæs cumende on ungewénedre tíde on herfeste: 7 hi sona wið heora feondum
l. 481. gefuhtan, 7 sige hæfdan, 7 ealle ða ðe þone deað beswician myhtan ofer ðone sæ norð aflymde, þa ðe ær ælce geare ofer ðone sæ hloðedon 7 hergedon. Ða gesægdon Románe on án Bryttum þæt hi no má ne mihton for heora gescyldnysse swa gewinnfullicum fyrdum swencte beon. Ac hi manedon 7 lærdon þæt hi him

l. 6. *eardædon* Ca. *eardedon* B. l. 14. *hi* B. *hī* Ca. l. 34. *fyrdū* (traces of erased stroke over *u*. Interlinear writing has been erased here and often elsewhere) Ca. *fyrdon* B.

after the foundation of the city. From that time the Romans ceased to have dominion in Britain: they had had dominion for 470 years, since Gaius, also called Julius, the emperor landed on the island. Cities, towers, roads and bridges had been constructed under their rule, which may be seen at the present day. The Britons dwelt to the south within the dyke we spoke of, built by order of the emperor Severus right across the island.

Then began two nations, the Picts on the north and the Scots on the west, to assail them, to seize and waste their possessions; and for many years they caused misery and distress. During these troubles they sent messengers to Rome with letters and a plaintive petition, begging for help, and offering humble obedience and perpetual submission, if help were granted that they might overcome their foes. Then they sent a large force to their aid, which on landing in the island at once fought against the enemy, defeated them with great slaughter, and drove them in flight beyond the borders. Then they taught the Britons to construct fortifications as a defence against their enemies: and so with great triumph returned home. But when their former adversaries saw that the Roman army had gone away, they proceeded at once with a fleet to the British borders, slew and murdered all they met, and, as if it were a ripe field of corn, trod them under foot, and made havoc, and utterly ruined all. Then once more they sent messengers to Rome and in plaintive tones begged for aid, that their poor country might not be utterly destroyed, nor the name of the Roman people, which so long was bright and shining among them, be overcast and obscured by the violence of foreign nations. Once more an army was sent here, which arriving unexpectedly at harvest time, at once took the field against the enemy and won a victory, and drove all who could escape the slaughter northward over the sea, after they had each year before crossed the sea to spoil and lay waste. Then the Romans said to the Britons once for all, that they could no longer exhaust themselves in such toilsome expeditions for their defence. But they admonished and instructed them to

wæpno worhton 7 modes strengðo naman þæt hi compedon 7 wiðstodan heora feondum. 7 hi him ða eac to ræde 7 to frofre fundon, þæt hi gemænelice fæsten geworhten him to gescyldnesse, stænene weal rihtre stige fram eastsæ oð westsæ, þær Seuerus se casere iu het dician 7 eorðwall gewyrcan: ðone mán nu to dæg sceawian mæg eahta fota bradne 7 twelf fota heanne. Swylce eac on þæs sæs warope to suðdæle, þanon ðe hi sciphere on becom, torras timbredon to gebeorghe ðæs sæs. Ða sona þæs ðe þis fæsten geworht wæs, ða sealdon hi him bysne monige, hu hi him wæpen wyrcean sceoldan, 7 heora feondum wiðstondan. 7 hi ða grettan 7 him cyðdan þæt hi næfre má hi sécan woldan; 7 hi sigefæste ofer sæ ferdon. Ða þæt þa Pehtas 7 Scottas geacsedon, þæt hi ham gewitene wæron, 7 eac þæt hi hider no eft ma hi secan ne woldan, þa wæron hi ðe baldran gewordene, 7 sona ealne norðdæl ðysses ealondes oð ðone weall genoman 7 gesetton. Wið þyssum stod on þam fæstene ufanweardum se earga feða Brytta 7 þær forhtigendre heortan wunode dæges 7 nihtes. Þa sohtan heora gewinnan him sarwe 7 worhton him hocas, 7 mid þam tugan hi earmlice adún of þam wealle. 7 hi wæron sona deade, swa hi eorðan gesohtan. Hig þa forlættan þone wall 7 heora burh, 7 flugan onwæg: 7 heora gewinnan hi ehtan 7 slogan, 7 on wæll fyldon. Wæs þis gefeoht wælgrimre 7 strengre eallum þam ærgedonum. Forðon swa swa sceap from wulfum 7 wildeorum beoð fornumene, swa þa earman ceasterwaran toslitene 7 fornumene wæron fram heora feondum, 7 heora æhtum benémde 7 to hungre gesette.

X.[1]

Cap. 13. Ða wæs ymb feower hund wintra 7 þreo 7 twentig þære Drihtenlican menniscnysse; Theodosius casere æfter Honorie rice onfeng, 7 þæt hæfde syx 7 twentig wintra. Se wæs fifta eac feowertigum fram Agusto þam casere. Þæs caseres rices ðy eahteþan geare Palladius biscop wæs ærest sended to Scottum, þa ðe on Crist gelyfdon, fram þam biscope þære Romaniscan cyricean, Celestinus

l. 1. *s,aldon* Ca. *sealdon* B. l. 16. *feða* C. B. *feðe* Ca. [1] XIII Ca. l. 31. *Celestinus* C. B. *Cal-* Ca.

manufacture arms, and pluck up stout hearts that they might fight and withstand their foes. They also thought it advisable and helpful, that they should construct a general line of fortification for their protection, that is a stone wall in a straight line from the sea on the east to the sea on the west, where the emperor Severus formerly directed the construction of a ditch and a rampart of earth: this may still be seen, and is eight feet broad and twelve feet high. They also built for protection from the side of the sea, towers on the sea coast south of this point, where they were assailed by fleets. As soon as they had completed this fortification, and given them many examples how to manufacture arms and withstand their foes, they took their leave, informing them that they should return no more, and then sailed in triumph across the sea. Now when the Picts and Scots learnt that they had gone home and would return no more here, they were emboldened by this, and at once seized and occupied all the north part of this island up to the rampart. To oppose this the cowardly British soldiers took their stand on the top of the fortification, and there remained day and night with trembling hearts. Then their adversaries sought implements and made hooks, and with these dragged them down miserably from the ramparts: and their death followed immediately on their reaching the ground. So the Britons abandoned the rampart and their cities and fled away, and their adversaries pursued and slew them with a great slaughter. This contest was more bloody and violent than any before: for as sheep are destroyed by wolves and wild beasts, so the poor townsmen were rent and destroyed by their foes, being stripped of their possessions and left to starve.

X.

It was then about four hundred and twenty-three years after the incarnation of Christ; the emperor Theodosius succeeded Honorius in the empire, and reigned twenty-six years; he was the forty-fifth from the emperor Augustus. It was in the eighth year of this emperor's reign that bishop Palladius was first sent to the Scots who believed on Christ, by that bishop of the Roman church

wæs haten. Swylce eac his rices þy ðriddan geare eac twentigum Aetius wæs haten mære man; se wæs iu ær heah ealdorman, 7 þa wæs þriddan siðe cónsul 7 cyning on Rome. To þysum ða þearfendan lafe Brytta sendon ærendgewrit; wæs se fruma þus awriten: Ettio ðriga * cyninge: Her is Brytta geong 7 geomerung. 7 on forð- geonge þæs ærendgewrites þus hi heora yrmðo arehton: Us drifað
p. 482. þa ellreordan to sæ; wiðscufeð us seo sæ to þam ællreordum: betwih him twam we þus tweofealdne deað þrowiað, oððe sticode beoð oððe on sæ adruncene. Deah ðe hi þas ðing sædon, ne mihton hi nænigne fultum æt him begitan, forþon on ða ylcan tid he wæs absgyad mid hefigum gefeohtum wið Blædlan 7 Atillan Huna cyningum.

XI.[1]

Swylce eac þissum tidum com mycel hungor on Constantinopolim Creca ealdorburh: 7 sona wól wæs æfterfyligende. Ge eac monige weallas mid seofon 7 fiftegum torran gehruron 7 gefeollan: 7 swylce eac monige oðre ceastre tohrorene wæron. 7 se hunger 7 se wolberenda stenc bære lyfte monige þusendo monna 7 neata fordilgade 7 fornam.

Cap. 14. Com se foresprecena hungur eac swylce hider on Bryttas 7 hi to ðon swyþe wæhcte, þæt heora monige heora feondum on hand eodan; 7 gyt ma wæs þe þæt dón ne wolde: ac, þa him ælc mennisc fultum blonn, þæt hi ma on godcundne fultum getreowodan. 7 þa ongunnan ærest wið heora fynd feohtan, þa þe monige gear ær hi onhergedon 7 hleoðedon. 7 hi him ða micel wæl ongeslogan, 7 hi ham bedrifan, 7 sige ahton. Æfter þyssum com gód gear, 7 swa eac micel genihtsumnys wæstma on Breotone lond, swa nænig æfteryldo syððan gemunan mæg. Mid þy ða ongon firenlust weaxan; 7 sona wól ealra monna somod gehradode, þæt wæs wællhreownysse 7 soðfæstnysse feoung, 7 seo lufu líges 7 leasunge. 7 nalæs þæt án þæt ðas ðing dyden weoruldmen, ac eac swylce þæt Drihtnes eowde, 7 his hyrdas. 7 hi druncennesse 7 oferhydo 7 geciide ond geflite 7 æfeste 7 oðrum mannum þysses gemetes wæron heora swiran

l. 5. *etio ðriga cyninga* Ca. These words are not in B. *yrmd geong* Ca. *gnornung* B. [1] XIIII Ca. l. 18. *fornam* B. *fornumene wæron* Ca.

who is called Celestinus. Also in the twenty-third year of his reign there was a famous man named Aetius, who was formerly patrician and was then consul for the third time and king in Rome. To him the miserable remnants of the Britons sent a letter, of which the beginning ran thus: 'To Aetius, thrice king, these are the groans and laments of the Britons.' And in the course of the letter they thus set forth their misery: 'The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea thrusts us back to the barbarians; between both we thus suffer a twofold death, we are either stabbed or drowned in the sea.' Though they pleaded thus, they could not get any help from him, for at that time he was engaged in severe struggles with Blaedla and Attila, kings of the Huns.

XI.

Also, at this time, there arose a great famine at Constantinople, the capital of the Greeks, immediately succeeded by a pestilence. Also many walls along with fifty-seven towers collapsed and fell; and many other towns too were ruined. And the famine and pestilential stench of the air carried off and destroyed many thousands of men and cattle. The famine just mentioned spread also to Britain, and affected the people to such a degree, that many gave themselves up into the hands of their enemies; but there were yet more who would not do so; and as all human aid failed them, they trusted the more to aid from heaven. Then for the first time they began to resist their enemies, who now for many years had wasted and spoiled them. They defeated them with great slaughter, drove them home and secured the victory. After this came a good year, and such abundant crops in Britain, as no age since can record. With that began an increase of riotous living; and at once a general corruption hastened in its train, cruelty, hatred to truth, and love of lying and leasing. Nor was it only worldly men who acted thus, but also the fold and shepherds of the Lord. And they cast off the light and pleasant yoke of Christ, and bowed their necks to drunkenness, pride, strife, conten-

l. 28. *þæt swa wæs* (*swa* struck through) Ca. *þ wæs* B. l. 31. *7 gecliđ 7 ġeflit* B. *gecygde on ġeflite* Ca.

underþeoddende, onweg aworpenum Cristes geoce þam leohtan 7 þam swetan. Betwih ðas þing þa com semninga mycel wól 7 grim ofer ða gehwyrfdon modes menn. 7 se on hrærdnesse swa mycele menigo heora fornóm 7 gefylde, þætte ða cwican no genihtsumedon þæt hi ða deadan bebyrigdan. Ac hwæðere þa ðe lifigende wæron for ðam ege þæs deaðes noht þon sel woldan, ne fram heora sawle deaðe acigde beon ne mihton. Forðon nalæs æfter myclum fæce grimmre wræc þa þære fyrenfullan þeode þæs grimman mannes wæs æfterfyligende. Þa gesomnedon hi gemot 7 þeahtedon 7 ræddon, hwæt him to donne wære, hwær him wære fultum to secanne to gewearnienne 7 to wiðscufanne swa reðre hergunge 7 swa gelomlicre þara norðþeoda. 7 þa gelicode him eallum mid heora cyninge, Wyrtgeorn wæs haten, þæt hi Seaxna þeode ofer þam sælicum dælum him on fultum gecygdon 7 gelaðedon. Þæt cuð is þæt þæt mid Drihtnes mihte gestihtad wæs, þæt yfell wræc come ofer ða wiþcorenan, swa on þam ende þara wísena sweotolice ætywed is.

XII.[1]

p. 483. Cap. 15. Ða wæs ymb feower hund wintra 7 nigon 7 feowertig fram ures Drihtnes menniscnysse, þæt Martianus casere rice onfeng 7 VII gear hæfde. Se wæs syxta eac feowertigum fram Agusto þam casere. Ða Angel þeod 7 Seaxna wæs gelaðod fram þam foresprecenan cyninge, 7 on Breotone com on þrim myclum scypum; 7 on eastdæle þyses ealondes eardungstowe onfeng þurh ðæs ylcan cyninges bebod, þe hi hider gelaðode, þæt hi sceoldan for heora eðle compian 7 feohtan. 7 hi sona compedon wið heora gewinnan, þe hi oft ær norðan onhergedon; 7 Seaxan þa sige geslogan. Þa sendan hi ham ærenddracan 7 heton secgan þysses landes wæstmbærnysse, 7 Brytta yrgþo. 7 hi þa sona hider sendon maran sciphere strengran wighena; 7 wæs unoferswiðendlic weorud, þa hi togædere geþeodde wæron. 7 him Bryttas sealdan 7 geafan eardungstowe betwih him þæt hi for sibbe 7 hælo

l. 1. *leohtan* B. *leohtam* Ca. l. 3. *on hrædnesse* Ca. (=*hrérednesse*). *on hrednesse* B. l. 8. *grimmre* C. *grimre* B. *grim* Ca. *fyren-* (sic) Ca. *þære* not in B. l. 12. 7 *þa* Ca. 7 B. l. 13. *hi* B. *he* Ca.

tion, envy, and other sins of the same kind. During these things, there suddenly came a great and furious pestilence upon these men of perverted hearts, which speedily laid low and carried off such numbers of them, that the living no longer sufficed to bury the dead. And yet the living were not the better disposed for all that terror of death, nor could they be rescued from the death of their souls. Therefore after no long time direr vengeance for their dire sin overtook this depraved people. Then they gathered an assembly and took counsel together, as to what should be done, and where they should look for help to avoid and repel such savage and repeated devastations of the northern nations. Then it seemed best to all, and to their king, Vortigern by name, to invite and call in to their aid the people of the Saxons from the parts beyond the sea. It is evident that this was so arranged by the divine power, that heavy vengeance should come on these outcasts, as is clearly shown by the issue of events.

XII.

It was 449 years after our Lord's incarnation, when the emperor Martianus succeeded to the throne, which he occupied for seven years. He was the forty-sixth from the emperor Augustus. At that time the Angles and Saxons were called in by the aforesaid king, and arrived in Britain with three great ships. They received settlements on the east side of the island by order of the same king, who had invited them here, to fight as for their country. They at once took the field against the foe, who had often before overrun the land from the north; and the Saxons won the victory. Then they sent home messengers, whom they bade to report the fertility of this land, and the cowardice of the Britons. Immediately a larger fleet was despatched here, with a stronger force of warriors; and the host when united overpowered resistance. The Britons gave and assigned to them settlements among themselves, on condition of fighting for the peace and safety of their country and resisting their enemies, while the Britons also provided

[1] XV Ca. l. 23. 7 Ca. ⁊ B. l. 26. *æreddracan* Ca. *ærendracan* B. l. 30. *hi* B. *he* Ca.

heora eðles campodon 7 wunnon wiþ heora feondum, 7 hi him andlyfne 7 are forgeafen for heora gewinne. Comon hi of þrim folcum ðam strangestan Germanie, þæt of Seaxum 7 of Angle 7 of Geatum. Of Geata fruman syndon Cantware, 7 Wihtsætan; þæt is seo ðeod þe Wiht þæt ealond oneardaþ. Of Seaxum, þæt is of ðam lande þe mon hateþ Ealdseaxan, coman Eastseaxan 7 Suðseaxan 7 Westseaxan. And of Engle coman Eastengle 7 Middelengle 7 Myrce 7 eall Norðhembra cynn; is þæt land ðe Angulus is nemned, betwyh Geatum 7 Seaxum; is sæd of þære tíde þe hi ðanon gewiton oð to dæge, þæt hit weste wunige. Wæron ða ærest heora latteowas 7 heretogan twegen gebroðra Hengest 7 Horsa. Hi wæron Wihtgylses suna, þæs fæder wæs Witta haten, þæs fæder wæs Wihta haten 7 þæs Wihta fæder wæs Woden nemned, of ðæs strynde monigra mægða cyningcynn fruman lædde. Ne wæs ða ylding to þon þæt hi heapmælum coman maran weorod of þam ðeodum, þe we ær gemynegodon. 7 þæt folc, ðe hider cóm, ongan weaxan 7 myclian to þan swiðe, þæt hi wæron on myclum ege þam sylfan landbigengan ðe hi ær hider laðedon 7 cygdon.

Æfter þissum hi þa geweredon to sumre tide wiþ Pehtum, þa hi ær þurh gefeoht feor adrifan. 7 þa wæron Seaxan secende intingan 7 towyrde heora gedales wiþ Bryttas. Cyðdon him openlice 7 sædon, butan hi him maran *and*lyfne sealdon, þæt hi woldan him sylfe niman 7 hergian, þær hi hit findan mihton. 7 sona ða beotunge dædum gefyldon: bærndon 7 hergedon 7 slogan fram eastsæ oð westsæ; 7 him nænig wiðstod. Ne wæs ungelic wræcc þam ðe iú Chaldeas bærndon Hierusaleme weallas 7 ða cynelican getimbro mid fyre fornaman for ðæs Godes folces synnum. Swa þonne her fram þære arleasan ðeode, hwæðere rihte Godes dome, neh ceastra gehwylce 7 land forheregeode wæron. Hruran, 7 feollan cynelico
p. 484. getimbro 7 anlipie: 7 gehwær sacerdas 7 mæssepreostas betwih wibedum wæron slægene 7 cwylmde: biscopas mid folcum buton ænigre are sceawunge ætgædere mid iserne 7 lige fornumene wæron. 7 ne wæs ænig se ðe bebyrignysse sealde þam ðe swa

l. 7. *mi,delengle* Ca. *midd-* B. l. 12. *þæs fæder wæs witta haten* B. (wanting in Ca.). l. 22. *nemne* Ca. *butan* B. l. 29. *forheregeode wæron* B. *wæs forhergiende* Ca. *hrusan a* (= ō ?) Ca. *hruran* 7 B. l. 30. the third 7 B., not in Ca. *somed* 7 C. ?

them with a maintenance and estates in return for their labours. The new-comers were of the three strongest races of Germany, namely, Saxons, Angles and Jutes. Of Jutish origin are the men of Kent, and the Wihtsætan; that is the tribe dwelling in the Isle of Wight. From the Saxons, that is from the people called Old Saxons, came the East Saxons, the South Saxons, and the West Saxons; and from Angle came the East Angles and the Middle Angles, Mercians, and the whole race of the Northumbrians. This is the land which is named Angulus, between the Jutes and Saxons, and it is said to have lain waste, from the time they left it, up to this day. Their leaders then and their commanders were at first two brothers, Hengist and Horsa, sons of Wihtgils, whose father was called Witta, whose father was Wihta, and the father of Wihta was called Woden. From his race the royal families of many tribes derived their origin. Then without delay they came in crowds, larger hosts from the tribes previously mentioned. And the people, who came here, began to increase and multiply to such an extent, that they were a great terror to the inhabitants themselves, who originally invited and called them in. Later on, when occasion offered, they entered into alliance with the Picts, whom they had previously driven out by arms. And then the Saxons sought excuse and opportunity for breaking with the Britons. So they publicly announced to the Britons and declared, that, unless they gave them a more liberal maintenance, they would take it for themselves by force and by plundering, wherever they could find it. And they soon carried their threats into execution: they burned and plundered and slew from the sea on the west to the sea on the east; and now no one withstood them. Their vengeance was not unlike that of the Chaldees, when they burned the walls of Jerusalem and destroyed the royal palace by fire for the sins of God's people. So then here almost every city and district was wasted by this impious people, though it was by the just judgment of God. Buildings both public and private collapsed and fell; by every altar priests and clergy were slain and murdered. Bishops and people, without regard for mercy, were destroyed together by fire and sword; nor was there anyone who bestowed the rites of

hreowlice acwealde wæron. 7 monige ðære earman lafe on westenum fanggene wæron 7 heapmælum sticode. Sume for hungre heora feondum on hand eodon 7 ecne þeowdom geheton, wiðþon þe him mon andlifne forgefe: sume ofer sæ sarigende gewiton: sume forhtiende in eðle gebidon, 7 þearfende lif in wuda 7 in westenum 7 in hean cleofum sorgiende mode symle dydon.

Cap. 16. Ond þa æfter þon þe se here wæs ham hweorfende 7 heo hæfdon utamærede þa bigengan þisses ealondes, ða ongunnon heo sticcemælum mod 7 mægen monian; 7 forðeodon of þæm deaglum stowum, þe heo ær in behydde wæron, 7 ealra anmodre geþafunge heofonrices fultomes him wæron biddende, þæt heo oð forwyrd æghwær fordilgode ne wæron. Wæs in ða tid heora heretoga 7 latteow Ambrosius, haten oðre noman Aurelianus. Wæs gód mon 7 gemetfæst, Romanisces cynnes mon. In þisses monnes tid mod 7 mægen Brettas onfengon: 7 he heo to gefeohte forðgecegde 7 him sige geheht: 7 heo eac on þam gefeohte þurh Godes fultom sige onfengon. 7 þa of þære tide hwilum Brettas, hwilum eft Seaxan sige geslogon oð þæt ger ymbsetes þære Beadonescan dune, þa heo micel wæl on Ongolcynne geslogon, ymb feower 7 feowertig wintra Ongolcynnes cymes in Breotone.

XIII.[1]

p. 485. Ða wæs æfter forðyrnendre tide ymb fif hund wintra 7 tu 7
Cap. 23. hundnigontig wintra from Cristes hidercyme; Mauricius casere feng to rice 7 þæt hæfde an 7 twentig wintra. Se wæs feorða eac fiftegum from Augusto. Ðæs caseres rices ðy teoðan geare Gregorius se halga wer, se wæs on lare 7 on dæde se hehsta, feng to biscophade þære Romaniscan cyrican 7 þæs apostolican seðles: 7 þæt heold 7 reahte þreotteno ger 7 syx monað 7 tyn dagas. Se wæs mid godcundre inbryrdnesse monad þy feowertegeðan geare þæs ylcan caseres, ymb fiftig wintra 7 hundteontig Ongolcynnes hidercymes in Breotone, ðæt he sende Agustinum 7 oðre monige munecas mid hine Drihten ondrédende bodian Godes word Ongolþeode. Þa hyrsumodon heo þæs biscopes bebodum to þæm

l. 2. T. begins *sume*. l. 7. Ca. has chapter heading XVI, no break in T.
[1] XI, T. XXIII, Ca. l. 31. *ondréde* T. *ondrædende* Ca. *adrædende* B.

burial on those so cruelly slaughtered. Many of the miserable survivors were captured in waste places, and stabbed in heaps. Some through hunger surrendered themselves into the enemy's hands, and engaged to be their slaves for ever in return for a maintenance; some in sorrow went beyond the sea; some timidly abode in the old country, and with heavy hearts ever lived a life of want in wood and wilds and on lofty rocks. Then when the host returned to their home after expelling the inhabitants of the island, the latter began little by little to rouse up their strength and courage: issuing from the obscure retreats in which they had hidden themselves, they began all with one consent to entreat heaven's aid, that they might not utterly and everywhere be annihilated. At that time their general and leader was Ambrosius, also called Aurelianus: he was of Roman origin, and a man of courage and moderation. In his time the Britons recovered heart and strength, and he exhorted them to fight and promised victory; and by God's help in the fight they did win the victory. And then from that time now the Britons, now again the Saxons were victors, till the year in which Mount Badon was beset; there they made a great carnage of the Angles, about forty-four years after the arrival of the Angles in Britain.

XIII.

Then, as time went on, about five hundred and ninety-two years after Christ's advent, the emperor Mauricius succeeded to the throne, and occupied it for twenty-one years. He was the fifty-fourth from Augustus. In the tenth year of this emperor's reign the holy Gregory, foremost both in learning and in active life, succeeded to the bishopric of the Roman church and of the apostolic see, which he held and directed for thirteen years six months and ten days. In the fourteenth year of the same emperor, about one hundred and fifty years after the Angles came into Britain, he was directed by divine inspiration to send Augustine and many other monks with him, men who feared the Lord, to preach the word of God to the Angles. They obeyed the behests of the bishop as to the aforesaid work, started

gemyngedan weorce, ond feran ongunnon 7 sumne dæl þæs weges gefaren hæfdon, ða ongunnon heo forhtigan 7 ondredan him þone siðfæt, 7 þohton þæt him wislicra 7 gehæledra wære, þæt heo ma ham cerdon, þonne heo þa elreordan þeode 7 þa reðan 7 þa ungeleafsuman, þara þe heo furðum gereorde ne cuþon, gesecan scolde. 7 þis gemænelice him to ræde gecuron. Ond þa sona sendon Agustinum to þæm papan, þone þe him to biscope gecoren hæfde, gif heora lár onfongen wære, þæt he scolde eaðmodlice for heo þingian, þæt heo ne þorfte in swa frecne siðfæt 7 in swa gewinfulne 7 in swa uncuðe elþeodignesse faran. Þa sende Sēs Gregorius ærendgewrit him to, 7 heo trymede 7 lærde in þam gewrite þæt heo eaðmodlice ferde in þæt weorc þæs Godes wordes 7 getreowde in Godes
p. 486 fultum; 7 þæt heo ne fyrhte þæt gewiin þæs siðfætes ne wyrgcweodulra monna tungan ne bregde: ac *þæt* hi mid ealre geornfulnysse 7 mid Godes lufan ða gód gefremede þe hi þurh Godes fultum doon ongunnon: 7 *þæt* hi wiston þæt ðæt micle gewin mare wuldor éces edleanes æfter*fyligde*: 7 he ælmihtigne God bæd *þæt* he hi mid his gife gescylde: 7 *þæt* he hi*m* seolfum forgeafe *þæt* he moste ðone wæstm heora gewinnes in heofona rices wuldre geseon, forðon he gearo wære in þam ylcan gewinne mid hi*m* beon, gif hi*m* lefnys seald wære.

Cap. 25. Ða wæs gestrangod Agustinus mid trymnysse þæs eadigan fæder Gregorius mid ðam Cristes þeowu*m*, ða þe mid hi*m* wæron; 7 hwearf eft on *þæt* weorc Godes word to læranne 7 com on Breotone.

XIV.[1]

Ða wæs on þa tíd Æðelbyrht cyning haten on Centrice, 7 mihtig: he hæfde ríce oð gemæro Humbre streames, se tosceadeð suðfolc Angelþeode 7 norðfolc. Þonne is on easteweardre Cent mycel ealand Tenet, þæt is syx hund hida micel æfter Angelcynnes æhte. Þæt ealond tosceadeð Wantsumo stream fram þam togeþeoddan lande. Se is þreora furlunga brad: 7 on twam stowum

l. 14. Tanner 1[b] ends *cweodulra*. 2[a] begins *lærdon*. A scrap is left of missing leaf. Text from Ca. *monna* T. *manna* Ca. B. l. 16. *doon* T. *don* Ca. B. l. 17. *wuldor* T. B. *-dur* Ca. l. 18. *seolfu*. T. *sylfum* Ca.

and advanced some way on their route. Then they began to feel alarmed and dread the journey, and thought it would be wiser and safer to return home, than to visit a barbarous and savage race of unbelievers, whose very language was strange. They decided in common on this course, and at once sent Augustine to the pope, having selected him to be their bishop, in case their teaching found acceptance, charging him to entreat humbly on their behalf, that they might not undertake an expedition so dangerous and toilsome, to a barbarous race so utterly unknown. Then St. Gregory sent a letter to them, in which he exhorted and instructed them to proceed humbly to the work of God's word, and trust in God's support; that they should not be afraid of the toil of the journey, nor dread the tongues of evil-speaking men: that they should with all readiness and love to God fulfil the good work, which they by God's help had begun: and that they should be assured that greater glory of everlasting reward would attend their great toil: and he prayed to Almighty God to shield them with his grace, and grant to himself that he might see the fruit of their toil in the glory of the kingdom of heaven, for that he was ready to be with them in that same toil, if permission should be given him.

Then Augustine was fortified by the exhortations of the blessed father Gregory, along with the servants of Christ accompanying him, and returned again to the work of teaching God's word, and came to Britain.

XIV.

At that time there was a powerful king in Kent named Æthelberht: his kingdom extended to the boundary of the river Humber, which separates the southern and northern sections of the race of the Angles. Now there is to the east of Kent a large island, Thanet, containing six hundred hides according to the English mode of reckoning. The river Wantsome separates this island from the adjoining country. It is three furlongs broad, and ford-

l. 19. *in* T. *on* Ca.: wanting in B. l. 20. *in* T. B. *on* Ca. [1] XXIIII Ca. l. 27. *streames* B. *streame* Ca. l. 28. Text follows O., which begins *ealand. tenet* B. C. *tenent* O. *tenen* Ca. l. 29. *þæt* O. *þ* Ca. B.

is oferfernes, 7 æghwæþer ende liþ on sæ. On þyssum eálande com upp se Godes þeow Agustinus 7 his geferan; wæs he feowertiga sum. Nóman hi eac swylce him wealhstodas of Franclande mid, swa *him* Sc̄s Gregorius bebead. 7 þa sende to Æþelbyrhte ærenddracan 7 ónbead, *þæt* he óf Rome come 7 *þæt* betste ærende lædde; 7 se þe him hyrsum beon wolde, buton tweon he gehet ecne gefean on heofonum 7 toweard rice butan ende mid þone soþan Gode 7 þone lifigendan. Ða he þa se cyning þas word gehyrde, þa het he hi bidan on þæm ealonde, þe hi upp comon: 7 him þider hiora þearfe forgeafon, oð þæt he gesawe hwæt he him don wolde. Swylce eac ær þam becwom hlisa to him þære cristenan æfestnesse, forþon he Cristen wif hæfde, *him* gegyfen of Francena cyningcynne, Byrhte wæs haten. *Þæt* wif he onfeng fram hyre yldrum þære arednesse, *þæt* hio his leafnesse hæfde *þæt* heo þone þeaw þæs Cristenan geleafan 7 hyre æfestnesse ungewemmedne healdan moste mid þy biscope, þone þe hi hyre to fultome þæs geleafan sealdon, þæs nama wæs Leodheard.

Ða wæs æfter mónegum dagum, þæt se cyning com to þam ealonde, 7 het him ute setl gewyrcean; 7 het Agustinum mid his geferum þider to his spræce cuman. Warnode he him þy læs hie on hwylc hus to him ineodan; breac ealdre healsunge, gif hie
p. 487. hwylcne drycræft hæfdon *þæt* hi hine oferswiðan 7 beswican sceolden. Ac hi nalæs mid deofulcræfte ac mid godcunde mægene gewelgade coman: bæron Cristes rode tacen, sylfrene Cristes mæl mid him 7 anlicnesse Drihtnes Hælendes on bréde afægde 7 awritene, 7 wæron haligra naman rimende, 7 gebedo singende; somod for hiora sylfra ecre hælo 7 þara þe hi to comon to Drihtne þingodon. Þa het se cyning hie sittan, 7 hie swa dydon; 7 hi sona *him* lifes word ætgædere mid eallum his geferum, þe þær ætwæron, bodedon 7

l. 1. *oferfernes* second *e* out of *æ* O. *-fer-* Ca. B. l. 3. *wea,h-* O. *wealh-* Ca. B. l. 9. first *hi.* (one erased) O. *hig* Ca. *hi* B. *þæm* T. *þam* O. Ca. B. *ealonde* T. Ca. *-la-* O. B. *comon þider coman* (*þ. e* struck out) O. *þ. e* not in Ca. B. l. 10. *forgeafon* T. *forge,fan* (*y* above and on erased *a*) O. *-gyfan* Ca. *-geaf* B. *oð þæt* T. B. (*þ*) 7 *þæt* O. Ca. l. 11. *þam becwō* T. *þan becom* O. *þam b* Ca. *þon becóm* B. l. 12. *hī gegyfen* (but *hī* in margin, not original hand) O. *seo wæs hī forgifen* Ca. *him wæs forgifen* B. l. 13. *byrht* T. *berhte* O. Ca. *beorhte* B. l. 14. *l. fnesse* (*ea* above, *e* erased) O.

able in two places, and both ends run out into the sea. The servant of God Augustine and his companions landed on this island, amounting in all to forty persons. They also brought with them interpreters from France, as St. Gregory directed them. And he sent a messenger to Æthelberht, announcing that he came from Rome and brought the good news, and if any would be obedient to him, certainly promising them eternal joy in heaven and a kingdom to come, that should never end, with the true and living God. When the king heard these words, he ordered them to remain on the island, where they had landed: and they provided them what they needed, till he saw what he should do with them. Besides, the fame of the christian religion had already reached him, as he had a christian wife belonging to the royal family of the Franks named Bertha. She had been given in marriage to him by her parents, on condition of his allowing her to maintain inviolate the practice of the christian faith and of her religion, along with the bishop assigned to her for her support in the faith, whose name was Leodheard. Then after several days the king came to the island, and ordered them to make him a seat in the open air, and directed Augustine and his companions to come there to confer with him. He was on his guard against their entering under the same roof as himself, employing an old counter-charm, in case they had any magical arts to overpower or delude him. But they came not endowed with devils' craft, but virtue from heaven: they bore the emblem of Christ's cross, and had a silver crucifix with them and a likeness of the Saviour drawn and coloured on a panel, and recited the names of saints and intoned prayers; at the same time they made intercession to the Lord for the eternal salvation of themselves and of those to whom they came. Then the king bade them sit down, and they did so; and they at once declared and made known

leafnysse Ca. *leue* B. l. 18. *ónegum* (*m* above: erasure of one) O. *monigum* Ca. *manegum* B. l. 19. *ut setl* (*tl* on erasure) O. *úte setl* Ca. *úte seldan* B. l. 21. first *h,e* O. *hi* Ca. B. *ealdre* B. *ealre* O. Ca. l. 23. *sceolde,* O. *-dan* Ca. *-don* B. first *mid* Ca. (O. above line); not in B. C. l. 24. *sylfrene* (*e* on erasure not first hand) O. Ca. *sylefren* B. l. 26. *haligra* (first *a* out of *æ*) O. *haligra* Ca. B. l. 28. *hī* Ca. (O. on erasure of three). *him* B.

lærdon. Þa ondswarede se cyning 7 þus cwæð: Fæger word þis syndon 7 gehat þe ge brohtan 7 us secgað. Ac forðon heo neowe syndon 7 uncuðe, ne magon we nu gen þæt þafian, þæt we forlæten þa wisan, þe we longre tide mid ealle Ongolþeode heoldon. Ac forðon þe ge hider feorran elþeodige cwomon ond, þæs þe me geþuht is 7 gesewen, þa þing, ða ðe soð 7 betst gelefdon, þæt eac swilce willadon us þa gemænsuman, nellað we forðon eow hefige beon. Ac we willað eow eac fremsumlice in gestliðnesse onfon, 7 eow ondlifen sellan 7 eowre þearfe forgifan. Ne we eow beweriað þæt ge ealle, ða þe ge mægen, þurh eowre lare to eowres geleafan ǽfæstnisse geðeode 7 gecyrre. Þa sealde se cyning him wunenesse 7 stowe in Cantwara byrig, seo wæs ealles his rices ealdorburg, ond swa swa he geheht, him ondlifen forgeaf 7 weoruldþearfe; ond eac swylce leafnesse sealde, þæt heo mosten Cristes geleafan bodian 7 læran. Is þæt sægd, þa heo ferdon 7 nealehton to ðære ceastre, swa swa heora þeaw wæs, mid þy halgan Cristes mæle 7 mid onlicnesse þæs miclan cyninges usses Drihtnes Hælendes Cristes, þæt þeosne letaniam 7 ontemn gehleoðre stefne sungon: *Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordia tua ut auferatur furor tuus, et ira tua a ciuitate ista et de domo sancta tua quoniam peccauimus.*

XV.[1]

Cap. 26. Ða wæs sona ðæs þe heo inneodon in þa eardungstowe þe him alyfed wæs in þære cynelecan byrig, ða gunnon heo þæt apostolice lif þære frymðelecan cyrcan onhyrgan, þæt is, in singalum gebedum 7 in wæccum 7 in fæstenum Drihtne þeodon; 7 lifes word, þæm heo mealhton, bodedon 7 lærdon, ond eall þing þisses middangeardes swa fremde forhogodon: ða þing aan, ða ðe hire ondleofne nedþearfleco gesewen wæron, heo onfengon from þæm þe heo lærdon. Æfter þon þe heo lærdon, heo sylfe þurh all lifdon, ond heo hæfdon geara mod þa wiðerweardan ge eac swylce deað sylfne to þrowianne for ðære soðfæstnesse, þe hy bodedon 7 lærdon. Ne wæs þa elding þætte monige gelefdon 7 gefulwade wæron; wæron wundriende þa

l. 1. T. begins *lærdon.* l. 18. *stefne* O. B. *-æ-* Ca. *stefnum* T. l. 20. *sc̄a. q̄m.* [1] XV (converted by a late hand into XXVI with dotted *i*) T. XXV Ca.

to him and all his companions who were present the word of life. Then answered the king, and said: 'These are fair words and promises which you have brought and announce to us. But as they are new and unknown, we cannot yet consent to leave those things, which we have long held with all the English race. But as you are foreigners, come here from afar, and, as I think and seem to see, you desired to impart to us those things which ye believed true and best, we will therefore not molest you. But we will receive you heartily as guests, will provide for your maintenance and supply your necessities. Nor do we hinder you from attaching and converting to the religion of your faith all, that you may, by your teaching.' Then the king assigned them a place with a dwelling in Canterbury, which was the capital of all his kingdom, and as he promised, provided for their maintenance and worldly needs; and also gave permission for them to proclaim and teach the faith of Christ. It is said, as they proceeded and drew near to the town, as their custom was, carrying the holy crucifix and image of the great King our Lord and Saviour Christ, that they sang this litany and anthem with harmonious voice: 'Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a ciuitate ista et de domo sancta tua, quóniam peccauimus.'

XV.

Then soon after they entered into the habitation which was assigned them in the royal city, they began to imitate the apostolical life of the primitive church, that is, they served the Lord in continual prayers, vigils and fasts; and they preached and taught the word of life, to whomsoever they might, and they despised all things of this earth as alien. Those things only which appeared needful for their maintenance, they received from those whom they taught. In all points they lived as they taught, and their minds were ready to suffer adversity and even death itself for the truth which they preached and taught. Then without delay many believed and were baptized; they admired the simplicity of that innocent life and the sweetness of their heavenly doctrine. There

bilwitnesse þæs unsceðþendan lifes 7 swetnesse heora þære heofonlican lare. Wæs bi eastan þære ceastre welneah sumo cirice in áre Sc̄i
p. 488. Martini geo geara geworht, mid þy Romani þa gyt Breotone beeodon; in þære cirican seo cwén gewunade hire gebiddan, þe we ær cwædon þæt heo Cristen wære. In þisse cyrican ærest þa halgan lareowas ongunnon heo somnian 7 singan 7 gebiddan 7 mæssesong don 7 men læran 7 fulwian, oð þæt se cyning to geleafan gecyrred wæs, 7 maran leafnisse onfengon ofer eal to læranne 7 circan to timbriganne 7 to betanne.

Þa gelamp þurh Godes gife, þæt se cyning eac swylce betuh oþre ongon lustfullian þæt clænoste lif haligra mid heora þam swetestan gehatum. Ond heo eac getrymedon, þæt þa soð wæron, mid monigra heofonlicra wundra æteownesse; 7 he þa gefeonde wæs gefulwad. Þa ongunnon monige dæghwamlice efstan 7 scyndan to gehyranne Godes word; 7 hæðenesse þeaw forleton 7 to ðære annesse hy geþeoddan þurh geleafan þære halgan Cristes cirican. Þara geleafan 7 gehwyrfednesse is sægd þæt se cyning swa wære efnblissende, þæt he nænne hwæðre nydde to Cristes geleafan, ac ða ðe to geleafan 7 to fulwihte cerdon, þæt he þa inwordlicor lufode, swa swa hy wæron him efnceasterwaran þæs heofonlican rices. Forðon he geleornode from his lareowum 7 fram þam ordfruman his hælo, þætte Cristes þeowdom sceolde beon wilsumlic, nales geneðedlic. Ond he þa se cyning geaf 7 sealde his lareowum gerisne stowe 7 setl heora hade in his aldorbyrig, 7 þær to sealde heora nydðearfe in missenlicum æhtum.

XVI.[1]

Cap. 27. Betweoh ðas ðing þa se halga wer Agustinus ferde ofer sæ, 7 com to Aréla þære ceastre; 7 from Otherio þam ærcebiscope þære ilcan ceastre æfter hæse 7 bebode þæs eadigan fæder Sc̄e Gregorii wæs gehalgod ęrcebiscop Ongolþeode. 7 eft hwearf 7 ferde to Breotone; 7 sona sende ærendwrecan to Rome, þæt wæs Laurentius mæssepreost 7 Petrus munuc, þæt heo scoldan secgan 7 cyþan þam

1. 7. *gecyrede* (last *e* struck through) T. *gecyrred* O. Ca. *-cirr-* B. 1. 8. *onfengon* O. Ca. B. *onfeng* T. 1. 11. *mid* B. 7 T. O. Ca. 1. 13. *he*

was close to the town on the east a church, built long ago in honour of St. Martin, when the Romans were still in occupation of Britain; in which church the queen usually prayed, who, as we have already said, was a christian. In this church the holy teachers first began to assemble for song and prayer, and to celebrate mass, teaching and baptizing men, till the king was converted to the faith, and they received more liberty to teach everywhere and to build and restore churches.

It then happened by God's grace, that the king also among others began to take pleasure in this pure life of holy men and in their sweet promises. And they also confirmed the truth of these with display of many heavenly miracles; and he then gladly received baptism. Then began many daily to hurry and hasten to hear the word of God; and they left heathen worship, and through faith joined the unity of Christ's holy church. In their faith and conversion the king is said to have felt pleasure, but yet so that he forced none to belief in Christ, only he loved more deeply those who were converted to faith and baptism, as if they were his fellow-citizens in the kingdom of heaven. For he learnt from his teachers and from the authors of his salvation, that Christ's service should be voluntary, not compulsory. And then the king gave and bestowed on his teachers a place and settlement suitable to their station in his chief city, and ministered also to their necessities in stores of various kinds.

XVI.

Now in the meantime the holy man Augustine crossed the sea, and went to the city of Arles, and was consecrated by Etherius, archbishop of that city, according to the direction and ordinance of the blessed father St. Gregory, to be archbishop of the English people. He then returned, and proceeding to Britain immediately despatched envoys to Rome, namely, the priest Laurentius and the monk Peter, to report and make known to the blessed bishop St.

O. Ca. B. *hy* T. [1] XVI changed by late hand into XXVII, T. XXVII Ca.

eadigan biscope Sc̄e Gregorii, þætte Ongelþeod hæfde onfongen Cristes geleafan 7 þætte he to biscope gehalgad wære: swylce eac be monegum sócnum 7 frigenessum, þa ðe him nedþearflice gesegen wæron, his geþeahte wæs biddende. Ond he sona þara gerisne andsware onsende.

[1] INTERROGATIONES SC̄E AGUSTINI ARCHIEPIS̄C ET RESPONS̄O SCĪ GREGORII PAPAE URBIS ROMANORUM.

Interrogatio I.

Ærest bi biscopum, hu hy mid heora geferum drohtian 7 lifgan sculon? Oðþo in þam lacum geleafsumra, þe heo to wigbedum 7 to Godes cirican bringað, hu monige dælas þara beon scyle? Ond hu biscop in cirican don scyle?

Responsio.

p. 489. Cwæð he: þæt halige gewrit þæt cyðeð, þæt me nis tweo þæt þu gearwe const, ond synderlice þæs eadgan Paules epistola þone he wrát to Timotheo, in þam he hine geornlice tydde 7 lærde, hu he in Godes huse drohtian 7 don scolde. Þonne is þeaw þæs apostolican seðles, þonne heo biscopas halgiað, þæt him bebodu sellað, ond þætte ealles þæs ondlifenes, þe him gegonge, feower dælas beon scyle, an ærest biscope 7 his heorode for feorme 7 onfongnesse gæsta 7 cumena, oðer dæl Godes þeowum, þridda þearfum, seo feorða to edneowunge 7 to bóte Godes ciricum. Ac forðon þin broðorlicnes is in mynstres regolum getýd 7 gelæred, ne scealt þu hwæþre sundor beon from þinum geferum in Ongolcircan, seo nu gen neowan is becumen 7 gelæded to Godes geleafan. Þas drohtunge 7 þis liif þu scealt gesettan, þætte in fruman þære acennendan cirican wæs ussum fædrum, in þæm nænig heora, of þam þe heo ahton, owiht his beon onsundrad cwæð, ac him eallum wæron eall gemæno. Gif þonne hwylce preostas 7 Godes þeowas synd butan halgum hádum gesette, þa ðe heo from wiifum ahabban ne mæge, nimen heom wiif 7 heora ondleofone utan onfongen.

[1] In all MSS. the Interrogationes are placed at the end of Bk. iii. l. 20. *þum* T. *þinū* B. O. Ca. l. 24. *cwæð* O. *cw̄* Ca.: not in T. and B. How-

Gregory that the English people had received the faith of Christ, and that he was consecrated bishop. He also begged for his advice on many questions and points, which seemed to him necessary. And he soon returned a suitable answer to his enquiries.

THE INTERROGATIONS.

Question I.

First as to the bishops. How shall they conduct themselves and live with their clergy? And in the gifts of the faithful, which they bring to the altars and God's church, how many shares shall be made? And how shall a bishop act in the church?

Answer.

He said: Holy Writ states this, which I doubt not you know well, and especially the epistle of the blessed Paul which he wrote to Timothy, in which he earnestly directed and taught him, how he should behave and act in God's house. Now it is the custom of the apostolical see, when consecrating bishops, to give them directions, and that four shares shall be made of all the maintenance which is provided for them, one first for the bishop and his household to entertain and receive guests and strangers, a second share for God's servants, a third for the poor, the fourth for the repair and improvement of God's churches. But yet, as you, my brother, have been trained and taught in monasterial discipline, you shall not keep apart from your clergy in the English church, which is but lately brought over to God's faith. You shall establish the mode of life and conduct which our fathers followed in the beginning of the rising church, among whom none maintained that anything they possessed was their private property, but they all had all things in common. If then any priests and servants of God, not included in the holy brotherhoods, cannot live without wives, let them take to them wives and receive a maintenance

ever, B. inserts *leton* before *beon*. l. 25. *gemæno* O. *-ro* T. *-ne* Ca. B. l. 26. *synd butan* O. Ca. *syn b-* B. Not in T.

Forðon bi ðæm ilcum fædrum, bi ðæm we foresprecende wæron, awriten is, þæt heo wæren todælende heora weoruldgood syndrigum monnum, swa æghwylcum þearf wæs. Swylce eac be heora ondlifne is to þencenne 7 to foreseonne, þæt heo godum þeawum lifgen under ciriclecum regole 7 sealmas to singenne 7 wæccan to bigongenne, 7 from eallum unalyfednessum heora heortan 7 tungan 7 lichoman Gode ælmihtegum clæne healden. Þæm lifiendum þonne in gemænum life hwæt is us to sprecenne, hu heo heora ælmesse dæle oðþe gestliðnesse bigonge 7 mildheortnesse fyllen? Mid þy eall, þætte ofer bið to láfe on heora weoruldspedum, arfæstum 7 gódum is to reccenne 7 to sellenne, swa swa ealra magister Drihten Crist lærde 7 cwæð: *Quod superest, date elemosynam et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis*: Ðætte ofer seo 7 to láfe, sellað ælmesse, 7 eow beoð eal clæno.

Interrogatio II.

Mid þy an geleafa ís 7 seondon missenlice gewunan ciricena, oðer gewuna is mæssesonga in þære halgan Romaniscan cirican 7 oðer is hæfd in Gallia rice.

Responsio.

Ðu seolfa const þeaw 7 gewunan þære Romaniscan cirican in þære þu afeded wære. Ac me nu þynceð 7 bet licað, þætte swa hwæt swa þu oðþo in Romana cirican oðþo in Gallia oðþo in hwylcre oðerre hwæt þæs gemætte, þætte ælmeahtegum Gode ma licie, þæt þu bihygdelice þæt geceose ond in Ongolðeode cirican fæstlice to healdenne gesette, seo nu gena is neowu in geleafan. Forðon ne seondon to lufienne þa wiisan fore stowum, ac fore gódum
p. 490. wisum stowe seondon to lufienne. Forþon of syndrigum ciricum gehwylcum þa ðu æfest 7 good 7 riht geceose, þa ðu togædre gesomna, 7 on Ongolþeode mod in gewunan asete.

Interrogatio III.

Ic þec halsio, hwylc wiite sceal þrowian, swa hwylc swa hwæthugu of cirican þurh stale ut abrygdeð?

l. 2. *todœlende* O. Ca. *-enne* B. *todœlde* T. l. 12. *supēst, oma* T. l. 20. *romana* O. Ca. B. *-ne* T. l. 26. first *ðu* O. Ca. B. *þe* T.

without. For it is written about those fathers, of whom we have already spoken, that they distributed their worldly property to individuals, as each had need. Also with regard to their maintenance, care and caution is necessary, that they may live morally under church discipline for singing psalms and attending vigils, and that they should keep their hearts, tongues, and bodies, in the sight of God Almighty, pure from all that is unlawful. What are we to say about those who share in the common life, as to their distribution of alms, their practising hospitality, and showing compassion? For all that remains over of their worldly goods is to be devoted and given to the pious and good, for so Christ the Lord and teacher of us all directed, saying, 'Quod superest, date elemosynam, et ecce omnia munda sunt nobis,' 'What is over and above, give as alms, and all things are clean unto you.'

Question II.

Whereas there is one faith and there are diverse customs among the churches, there is one custom for the celebration of mass in the holy Roman church and another maintained in the realm of Gaul.

Answer.

You know yourself the mode of worship and customs of the Roman church, in which you were brought up. But it now seems to me, and I prefer, that whatever it be that you find in the Roman church or the church of Gaul or in any other, which may be more pleasing to Almighty God, that you carefully choose this, and establish it to be firmly maintained in the church of England, which is still new in the faith. For things are not to be loved for sake of the places, but places for the good things. Therefore, whatever you select as pious, good and right from among all the various churches, put together and establish in the minds of the English as a custom.

Question III.

I beseech you, what punishment shall a man suffer, who steals anything away out of a church?

RESPONSIO.

Dis mæg geþencan þin broðorlicnes of þæs þeofes hade, hu he geriht beon mægge. Forðon sume syndon þa ðe habbað worldspede 7 hwæðre stale fremmað, sume seondon þa þe in þisse wiisan þurh wæðelnesse agyltað. Forðon is ned þætte sume mid woningum sume þearlicor, sume liðelecor, synd gerehte. Ond þeah ðe þæt wiite hwene heardor 7 strongor don sý, þonne is hit of lufan to donne, nales of welme ne of hatheortnesse. Forðon þæm menn þurh þa þrea þis bið gegearwod, þæt he ne sy seald þæm ecan fyrum helle tintreges. Forþon þys gemete we sculon men þreagean, swa swa ða goodan fædras gewuniað heora flæslecu bearn, þa heo for heora synnum þreageaþ 7 swingað; ond hwæðre þa seolfan, þe heo mid þam wiitum þreagað 7 swencað, lufiað eac 7 wilniað him to ærfeweardum to habbenne; 7 heora weoruldgod, þa heo ágan, him healdað þa ðe heo geare gesegene beoð eahtan 7 witnian. Forðon seo lufu is á in þæm moode to haldanne, 7 hit þæt gemet þara þrea dihtað 7 findeð, swa ðætte þæt mód buton rihtum regole allinga nowiht deð. Eac swylce þu toætectest in þinre frignesse, hu ða þing mon geldan sceolde, þa ðe mid stale of cirican afyrred wære. Ac feor þæt la sy, þætte Godes cirice mid æteacnesse onfo, þæt heo gesegen bið of eorðlicum þingum anforlæten, 7 heo bi idlum þingum weoruldgestreon sece.

INTERROGATIO IIII.

Hwæðer moton twegen æwe gebroðor twa geswustor in gesinscipe onfon, þa ðe beoð feorr heora cneorisse from him acende?

RESPONSIO.

Ðis mot beon swa; 7 eallum gemętum þæt is alyfed. Forðon nis ówer gemeted in halgum bocum, þætte þisse frignesse wærword sy gesegen.

INTERROGATIO V.

Oð hwelce cneorisse sculon cristne men mid heora mægum him betweohn in gesinscipe geþeodde beon? 7 steopmodrum 7

l. 12. *lufiað eac* 7 O. Ca. *lufigeað* 7 B. 7 (only) T. l. 15. *á* accent by 1st hand? T. *á* O. B. *áá* Ca. l. 25. *wærword* injured by damp, perhaps

ANSWER.

You, my brother, may consider according to the condition of the thief, how he may be reformed. For there are some who have worldly wealth and yet thieve; there are some who transgress in this point from poverty. Therefore it is needful that some be corrected by loss of goods, some with more severity, some more lightly. And though the punishment may be carried out with some harshness and severity, yet it is to be done out of love, not in passion or hot temper. For by the chastisement we provide, that the man shall not be given over to the everlasting fires of hell's torment. Therefore we should discipline men, in the same way as good fathers are wont to do to their children after the flesh, whom they discipline and scourge for their sins; and yet too they love those whom they discipline and pain with the punishment, and they desire to have them as their heirs, and they reserve for them, whom they have clearly been seen to afflict and punish, the worldly property that they possess. For love is ever to be maintained in the heart, and it dictates and determines the measure of correction, so that the heart does nothing at all without reasonable rule. You also further ask, how a man should make good what has been taken from a church by theft. But far indeed be it from God's church to recover with increase, what it seems to lose of earthly things, and to seek worldly gain in things which are of no account.

QUESTION IV.

May two full brothers take in marriage two sisters, who are far removed in descent from them?

ANSWER.

This may be so, and is in every way allowable: for we cannot find anywhere in holy books anything, that seems a negative to this question.

QUESTION V.

Up to what degree of affinity may christian men be joined in

freshened up, but certain T. *wiþerword* O. Ca. B. l. 27. *Oð* O. Ca. B. *oððe* T.

broðorwiifum ac þæt alyfed is, þæt heo moten in gesinscipe gegadrode beon?

RESPONSIO.

p. 491. Cwæð he: sum eorðlic æ in þære Romaniscan cynnewisan forlæteð, þætte oððe broðor oððe sweostor oððe twegra gebroðra bearn oððe twegea gesweostra sunu 7 dohtor gemengde wæren in gesincipe. Ac we þæt cuðlice oncneowon 7 ongeton, þætte þæt tuddur growan ne weaxan meahte of swylcum gesinscipe; ond seo halige æ bewereð 7 forbeodeð þa scondlicnesse onwreon mægsibba. Forðon is ned, þætte cristene men in þære þriddan cneorisse oððe in þære feorðan him betweohn wifian scyle, forþon seo æftere cneoris, þe we forecwædon, alle gemete is to forbeorenne 7 to forlætenne. Hefig máán is 7 godfrecnis þæt mon hine menge mid his steopmeder, forðon in Godes æ is awriten: *Turpitudinem patris tui non reuelabis*: Ne onwreoh þu scondlicnesse þines fæder. Ac forðon þe awriten is: *Erunt duo in carne una*: wer 7 wiif, heo tu beoð in anum lichoman, ono se ðe geðyrstigað onwreon þa sceondlicnesse his steopmeder, seo án lichoma mid his fæder wæs, hwæt se soðlice onwriið his fæder scondlicnesse. Swelce is eac bewered þæt mon hine menge wið his broðorwiife, forðon þurh þa ærran geþeodnesse heo wæs geworden his broðor lichoma. For þære wiisan eac swilce Iohannes se Baptista wæs heafde becorfen 7 halige martirdome his liif geendade, þa he þam cyninge sægde, þæt him alyfed nære þæt he his broðor wiif brohte 7 hæfde. Ac forðon monige seondon on Ongolðeode, [þa þe] mid þy heo þa gena in ungeleafsumnesse wæron, þissum maanfullum gesinscipum wæron gemengde sægde—ac heo seondon to monienne, nu heo to geleafan cwomon, þæt heo ahebban heo from swylcum unrihtum, 7 ongyten þætte þæt is hefig synn, ond him ondræden þone forhtiendan Godes dom, þy læs heo for flæsclicre lufan tintrego ecre cwealmnisse onfoon. Ne seondon heo hwæðre for þisse wiisan to biscergenne gemænsumnisse Cristes lichoman 7 blódes, þy læs on him gesegen sy þa ðing onwrecen beon, in þæm heo þurh unwisnesse gesyngodon ær fulwihtes bæðe. Forðon in þas tid

l. 13. *-dinē* (=em); *n̄* (=non) T. l. 24. [*þa þe*] (=qui) not in MSS.

wedlock with their relations? And is it allowed to be united in wedlock with stepmothers and brothers' wives?

ANSWER.

He said: There is an earthly law in the Roman commonwealth, which allows brother and sister, or the children of two brothers or a son and a daughter of two sisters, to be joined in marriage. But we have certainly learnt and understood, that no offspring may be produced or grow up from such wedlock; and the holy law prohibits and forbids uncovering the shame of relatives. Therefore it is needful that christian men shall marry among themselves in the third or fourth degree, for the second degree already mentioned must absolutely refrain and abstain. It is a grievous sin and offence against God for a man to wed his stepmother, for it is written in God's law, 'Turpitudinem patris tui non reuelabis,' 'Thou shalt not uncover thy father's shame.' And as it is written, 'Erunt duo in carne una,' 'Man and wife, they two shall be in one body,' then he who dares to uncover the shame of his stepmother, who was one body with his father, in very truth he uncovers his father's shame. So also it is forbidden a man to wed his brother's wife, for by the previous union she became his brother's body. For this cause also John the Baptist was beheaded and ended his life by holy martyrdom, because he said to the king, that it was not lawful for him to marry and have his brother's wife. But as there are many in England [who], while still in unbelief, were said to have been united in this sinful wedlock, so they are to be warned, now they have come to the faith, to abstain from such unrighteousness, and to understand that it is grievous sin, and to fear the tremendous judgment of God, lest they receive the torments of eternal death for their carnal affections. However, they are not, for this cause, to be excluded from the communion of Christ's body and blood, lest we seem to revenge on them the sins committed in ignorance before baptism. For at this time, holy church amends

seo halige cirice sumu þing þurh welm receð, sumu þurh monþwærnesse aræfneð, sumu þurh sceawunge ældeð, 7 swa ábireð 7 ældeð, þætte oft þæt wiðerworde yfel abeorende 7 ældend bewereð. Ealle, þa þe to Cristes geleafan becumað, seondon to monienne, þæt heo nowiht swelces ne durron gefremman. Gif hwylc þonne ofer þæt gefremmen, þonne seondon heo to bescyrienne Cristes lichoman 7 blodes. Forðon, swa swa bi þam monnum is hwæthwugu to aræfnenne, þa ðurh unwisnesse synne fremmað, swa þonne is stronglice to ehtenne, þa ðe him ne ondrædað weotonde syngian.

Interrogatio VI.

Gif micel feornis siiðfætes betweohn ligeð, þætte bisceopas æþelice cuman ne magon, hwæðer mot biscop halgad beon buton oðera biscopa *ond*weardnesse?

Responsio.

p. 492. Soðlice in Ongolcirican, in þære þu ána nu gena eart biscop gemeted, ne meaht þu on oðre wisan biscop halgian buton oðrum biscopum. Ac þe sculon of Gallia rice biscopas cuman, þa þe æt biscopes halgunge in witscipe stonde. Forþon ne sceal biscopa halgung on oðre wisan weosan, nemne in gesomnung 7 in gewitscipe þreora oðþe feower biscopa, þæt heo fore his gehælde þæm ælmihtigan Gode ætgædre heora bene 7 gebedo senden 7 geoten.

Interrogatio VII.

Hu sculon we don mid Gallia 7 Bretta biscopum?

Responsio.

In Gallia biscopum ne sellað we þe ænge aldorlicnesse, forþon þe fram þam ærran tidum minra foregengena pallium onfeng se biscop in Areéla þære byrig, þone we ne sculon bescerian ne beneoman þære onfongnan aldorlicnesse. Ac gif þe foor gelimpe in Gallia mægðe, hafa ðu mid þone ilcan biscop sprece 7 geþeahte hwæt to donne sy, oðþo gif hwelc uncyste in biscopu*m* gemette

l. 12. *oðer* T. *oðerra* B. *oþra* O. Ca. l. 14. ? *nemne buton* = nisi sine: all MSS. *buton* (*-an*) only. l. 21. *forþon fram þam ærran tidum minra* O. Ca. B. *forþon þe for minra* T.

some things with fervour, some it tolerates out of gentleness, with some it temporises out of consideration, and so bears and temporises, that oft by tolerating and temporising it checks the evils to which it is opposed. All those, who come to the faith of Christ, are to be admonished that they may not attempt any such thing. If then any subsequently do attempt, they are to be cut off from Christ's body and blood. For as in those men, who sin through ignorance, something is to be tolerated, so those who fear not to sin wittingly are to be visited with severity.

Question VI.

If the distance between places is great, so that bishops may not easily travel, may a bishop be consecrated without the presence of other bishops?

Answer.

Certainly, in the Church of England in which you, so far, are the only bishop to be found, you cannot in any other way consecrate a bishop [except] without other bishops. But bishops shall come to you from Gaul, who may assist as witnesses at a bishop's consecration. For the consecration of bishops may not take place in any other way, save before a congregation and in presence of three or four bishops, that they may make prayer and send up their petitions together to Almighty God for his protection.

Question VII.

How shall we proceed with the bishops of the Gauls and of the Britons?

Answer.

We do not grant you any authority in the case of the bishops of the Gauls, for ever since the old days of my predecessors the bishop in the city of Arles has received the pallium, whom we should not deprive or bereave of the authority he has obtained. But if you chance to travel in the land of the Gauls, confer and consult with this bishop as to the course of action, and if there be any fault

syn, hu þa gerehte 7 gebette beon scylen. Ond gif wen sy, þæt he in strengo þeodscipes 7 þrea to wlæc sy, þonne is he to onbærnenne 7 to gebetenne mid þinre broðorlicnesse lufan, ond þætte he, þa ðe wiðerworde seondon þære hæse 7 bebodum usses sceppendes, from biscopa þeawum bewerge. Ne meaht þu deman Gallia biscopas buton heora agenre aldorlicnesse, ac þu hy á scealt liðelice monigan 7 him æteawan þinra godra weorca onhyrenesse. Alle Bretta biscopas we bebeodað þinre broðorlicnesse, to ðon þætte unlærde seon gelærede, 7 untrume mid þinre trymenisse syn gestrongade, 7 unrehte mid þinre aldorlicnesse seon gerehte.

Interrogatio VIII[a].

Hwæðer sceal geeacnad wiif fulwad beon oðþe æfter þon þe heo bearn cenneð? Oðþe æfter hu micelre tide mot heo in circan gongan? Oðþo eac swylce þætte bearn þæt heo cende, þy læs hit seo mid deaðe fornumen, æfter hu feola daga alefað him þæm geryne onfoon fulwihtes bæðes? Oðþe æfter hu micelre tiide mot þæm wiife hire wer in lichoman gegadrunge geþeoded beon? Oðþe gif wiif numen sy in monaðaðle gewunan, hwæðer alefað hire in circan gongan oðþe þæm geryne onfoon þære halgan gemænsumnesse? Oðþe se wer, se ðe his wiife gemenged bið, ærþon he bibaðod sy, mot he in circan gongan oððe to ðæm geryne þære halgan gemænsumnesse? All þas þing þære neowan ðeode Ongolcynnes in Godes geleafan gedafenað cuð habban.

Responsio.

p. 493. Forhwon ne sceal þæt geeacnade wiif fulwad beon, mid þy nis beforan Godes ælmihtiges eagum ænig synn wæstmbeorendes lichoman? Forþon mid þy usse ealdras, þa ærestan men, in neorxna wonge agylton, þa forluran hy rehte Godes dome þa undeaðlicnesse, þe heo onfengon 7 in gescepene wæron. Ono hwæt þa se ilca ælmihtega God monna cyn allinga adwæscan ne wolde for heora synne, he ða þæm menn undeaðlicnesse onweg ahof ofer his synne, 7 hwæðre for fremsumnesse his arfæstnesse him geheold wæstmbeorennisse

l. 24. *eagum* B. O. Ca. *geagum* T. cp. 212, 20. l. 30. *-beorenisse* T. *-berenesse* O. *-bernysse* Ca. *-berendnesse* B.

found in bishops, how they should be corrected and reformed. And if it be supposed, that he is too remiss in vigour and severity of discipline, then he must be incited and reformed with your brotherly love, so that he may remove from the conduct of bishops those habits, which are contrary to the law and ordinance of our Creator. But you may not judge the bishops of Gaul without their own authority, but you shall ever admonish them gently and show them the example of your own good works. We commit to you, my brother, all bishops of the Britons, to the end that the unlearned may be taught, and the feeble may be strengthened with your encouragement, and the perverse amended by your authority.

Question VIII.

Shall a woman with child be baptized or after the birth of the child? And after what period may she go to church? And also after how many days may the child that is born be allowed to receive the sacrament of baptism, lest it be carried off by death beforehand? And after how long a period may man and wife come together again? Or if a woman be menstruous, is she allowed to go to church or receive the sacrament of the Holy Communion? Or may a man after approaching his wife go to church, or to the sacrament of the Holy Communion before bathing? It is proper for the English people, who are still new in the faith of God, to have all these points ascertained.

Answer.

Why should not a woman that is pregnant be baptized, seeing that there is no sin in fecundity of the body before the eyes of God Almighty? For our parents, the first of mankind, on sinning in Paradise, lost by the just judgment of God the immortality they had received and were created in. Now, as Almighty God would not utterly destroy mankind for their sin, he deprived man of immortality for his sin, and yet reserved to him fertility in offspring out of the kindness of his mercy. If this was

tudres. Ono þætte þære menniscan gecynde of ælmehteges Godes gefe gehealden wæs, hwelce rehte mæg þonne bewered beon from gife þæs halgan fulwihtes? In þæm geryne, þe bið æghwylc synn grundinga adwæsced, swiðe dyslic is þætte scyle þære godcundan gife wiðcweden beon. Ðu frugne eac swylce, þonne wiif cennende wære, æfter hu feola daga heo moste in circan gongan. Hwæt þu þæt seolfa leornadest in bebode þære aldan cyðnesse, þætte fore wæpnedbearne heo sceolde heo áhabban from Godes huses ingonge þreo 7 þritig daga, fore wiifcilde syx 7 syxtig daga. Þæt is hwæðre to weotanne, þætte þæt is on gastlicum geryne ongyten. Forþon þeah þe heo in þa ilcan tiid, þe heo acenned hæbbe, Gode þoncunge to donne in circan gonge, ne bið heo mid nænige synne byrðenne ahefigad. Forþon se willa þæs lichoman bið in synne, nales þæt saar þære cennisse: in þæs lichoman gemengednesse bið willa, þonne in þæs tudres forðlædnisse bið gooung 7 sár. Bi ðon þære ærestan meder ealles moncynnes wæs cweden: *In dolore paries*: in saare þu cennest bearn. Ono gif we beweriað þæt acennende wiif, þæt heo ne mot in circan gongan, hwæt we þonne þæt seolfe sár 7 wiite hire in synne tellað. Fulwian þonne þæt cennende wiif oðþe þæt bearn þæt þær acenned bið, gif heo syn þreade mid frecennisse deaðes, ge heo in þa seolfan tíid þe heo cenneð ge þæt þær acenned bið, nænige gemete is bewered. Forþon seo geofu þæs halgan gerynes, swa swa lifgendum 7 þæm ongeotendum mid micle gesceade is to forseonne, swa þonne, þæm þe se deað tobeotað, buton ænigre ældenne is to gebeorenne 7 to gefremmenne, þy læs gif hwylc lytel ælding sy, þætte ne mægge gemeted beon se ðe álesed si. To hire gerestscipe þonne hire wer ne sceal gongan, ær þon þæt ácennde bearn from meolcum awened sy. Ac unriht gewuna wel hwær is arisen betweoh gesinhiwum, þætte wiif forhycgað heora bearn fédan, þa ðe heo cennað, 7 heo oðrum wiifum to fedenne sellað. Þæt is þonne gesegen gemeted fore intingan unforhæfdnisse ánre, forþon, þonne heo ne willað ahabban from heora werum, þætte heo forhycgað fedan þa ðe heo cennað. Ono þas wiif, þa ðe heora bearn of unrihtum gewunum oðrum to fedenne

l. 19. *fulwien* (only) T. *fullian we* O. Ca. B. l. 20. *frecernisse* T. *frecnesse* O. B. *-cnysse* Ca.

reserved by the grace of God Almighty for human nature, what reason is there in prohibiting from the grace of Holy Baptism? In the sacrament by which all sin is thoroughly done away with, it is very foolish to offer opposition to the divine grace. You asked also, how many days after childbirth a woman might go to church. Now you have yourself learnt in the ordinances of the Old Testament, that for a man-child she should abstain thirty-three days from entering God's house, for a woman-child sixty-six days. You must know, however, that this is understood as a spiritual mystery. For even if she should go to church, to thank God, in the very hour after childbirth, she does not incur any burden of sin. For carnal pleasure is sinful, not the pains of childbirth. In carnal copulation there is pleasure, in the birth of offspring groaning and pain. As to this it was said to the first mother of all mankind, 'in dolore paries,' 'in sorrow thou shalt bear children.' Now if we prevent a woman after childbirth from going to church, surely we then account this pain and penalty as her sin. So then, to baptize a woman after childbirth or the new-born child, if threatened with danger of death, either the woman in the very hour of childbirth or the babe, is a thing in no wise prohibited. For as the grace of the holy sacrament is to be provided with much discretion for those who are alive and sensible, it is however without any delay to be brought and administered to those threatened by death, lest, if there be any little delay, no one may be found who may be redeemed. A husband shall not enter his wife's bed, before the babe is weaned from the breast. A culpable habit indeed has arisen in places between the married pair, that the woman neglects to feed her child, that she has borne, and hands it over to others to feed. Now this seems to occur through incontinence only, for they neglect to feed their own babes, when they will not live apart from their husbands. Now these women, who from culpable habit give their children to others to feed, shall not enter their husband's bed,

sellað, nemne seo clæsnunge tiid forðgeleore, ne sceolon heo heora
werum gemengde beon. Þa þe þonne in gewunan monaðaðle
numene beoð, butan beorðres intingan, heo wæron bewered heora
weorum gemengde beon, swa ðætte seo halige æ mid deaðe slæhð,
gif hwylc wæpnedmon gongeð to monaðaðlium wiife. Hwæðre
þæt wiif, mid þy heo þone gewunan þrowað monaðaðle, ne sceal
p. 494. heo bewered beon þæt heo mote in circan gongan; forðon seo
oferflownis þæs gecyndes hire ne mæg in synne geteled beon, 7
þurh þæt þe heo þurh nead þrowað, nis þæt reht þæt heo sy
bescyred from Godes circan ingonge. Hwæt we weotan 7 leorniað
in Cristes bocum, þætte þæt wiif, þe wæs þrowiende blodes flownisse,
heo eaðmodlice wæs cumende æfter Drihtnes bæce 7 gehran þæt
fæs his hrægles, 7 sona instæpe hire untrymnes onweg gewat 7
heo wæs hal geworden. Ono nu þæt wiif in blodes flownesse
geseted hergendlice meahte Drihtnes hrægle gehrinan, forhwon
þonne, se þe blodryne þrowað monaðaðle, ne alefað hire in Drihtnes
cirican gongan? Ac þu cwist nu: Heo nedde hire untrymnesse
þæt heo Cristes hrægle gehrine; þas wiif, bi þæm we sprecað,
gelomlic gewuna getiið. Ono geþenc, broþor þu leofesta, þætte
eal, þe we þrowiað in þissum deaðlican lichoman, is of untrymnesse
þæs gecyndes rehte Godes dome geendebyrdad. Wæs æfter synne
þæs ærestan monnes, forðon hyngran, þyrstan, hátian, calan, wærigian,—al þæt is of untrymnesse þæs gecyndes. Ond hwæt elles is
to secenne wið þæm hungre nemne ondlifen, wið þurst drync, wið
hæto celnis, wið cyle hrægl, wið werignesse reste, wið untrymnesse
lacedom †secan. Hwæt wiifum heora monaðaðle blodes flownes bið
untrymnis. Ono nu þæt wiif wel geþyrstgade, þætte Drihtnes hrægle
in aðle geseted gehran, þætte anum untrumum hade wæs forgifen,
forhwon ne sceal þæt eallum wiifum beon forgyfen, þa ðe mid uncyste
heora gecyndes beoð geuntrumade. Swelce eac in þæm ilcum
dagum ne sceal him bewered beon þæm geryne onfon þære halgan
gemænsumnesse. Gif þonne for micelre árwyrðnesse hwylc mon
ne geþyrstgað onfón, se is to herienne; ac gif he onfehð, nis he
to demenne. Forðon þara godra mooda 7 monna þeaw bið, þæt
heo þær hwilum synne ongeotað, þær þe syn ne bið, 7 oft buton

l. 3. *butan* O. Ca. B., wanting in T. l. 12. *þæs* T. *þ* O. Ca. B.

unless the time of purification has past. Those who are menstruous were prohibited from entering their husband's bed, except for the sake of offspring, so that the holy law visits with death any man going to a menstruous woman. Yet the woman, while menstruous, shall not be prohibited from going to church, for the natural overflow may not be counted as her sin, and it is not right that she should be cut off from entering God's church through a necessary affliction. Now we know and learn in Christ's books, that the woman suffering from an issue of blood came humbly behind the Lord's back and touched the hem of his garment, and at once her infirmity departed and she became whole. Now if this woman while suffering from an issue of blood might laudably touch the Lord's garment, why should one, who is menstruous, not be allowed to go to the Lord's church? But you say now: Her infirmity forced her to touch Christ's garment; the women of whom we speak are constrained by constant habit. Think now, my dearest brother, that all, which we suffer in this mortal body, is ordered by the just judgment of God from the infirmity of nature. It followed on the sin of the first man, for hunger and thirst, fever, chill, fatigue, all come from the infirmity of nature. And what else is to be sought for against hunger than food; against thirst, drink; against heat, coolness; against chill, a garment; against weariness, rest; against illness medicine is † to be sought. Now for women the menstrual flow is an illness. If now the woman was justly bold in touching the Lord's garment in time of illness, why should not that be allowed to all women, that was allowed to a single sick person, seeing that they are all visited with the infirmity of their nature? Also during these days they shall not be prohibited from receiving the Holy Communion. Now if anyone out of great veneration does not venture to receive, he is to be praised; but if he receive, he is not to be judged. For it is the habit of good minds and men, that at times they imagine sin where there is no sin, and often a thing

synne bið doen, þætte of synne cymeð: swa swa þæt is, þonne us eac hyngreð, þæt we etað buton synne, 7 us þæt wæs geworden of synne þæs ærestan monnes, þæt us eac hyngran meahte. Forþon swa swa bi þæm aldan þeodscipe þa utteran weorc wæron bihealden, swa in *þæm* neowan þeodscipe, nales swa swiðe þætte utan doen bið, swa þætte innan þoht bið, bihygdelice is behealden. Forþon, mid þy seo é monig þing bewereð to etanne, swa swa unclæne, hwæðre in *godspelle* Drihten cwæð: Nales þætte ingongeð in muð monnan besmiteð, ac þa ðe utgongað of múðe, þa seondan þe þone monnan besmiteð. 7 wene æft*er* þon wæs þæt areccende 7 cwæð: Of heortan utgongað yfele geþóhtas. Þær genihtsumlice is gesægd, þætte þæt from þæm ælmihtegum Gode unclæne 7 besmiten æteawed bið in weorce beon, þætte of wyrtruman besmitenes geþohtes 7 unclænes acenned bið. Bi þon swelce Paulus se apostol cwæð: Eall bið clæne clænum: þæm besmitenu*m* 7 ungeleafsumu*m* noht bið clæne. 7 he sona se apostol þone intingan þære ilcan besmitenesse wæs gesecgende, 7 æft*er* cwæð: Forðon bismiten syndon ge heora mód ge ingewitnis. Ono nu nu þæm mete ne bið clæne, þam þęt mod ne
p. 495. bið clæne, forhwon þonne þæt wiif þæt heo clæne móde of gecynde þrowað, sceal hire in unclænnesse geteled beon?

Se wer, se þe mid his ágene wiife bið slæpende, nemne he mid wætre aþwegen 7 bibaðod sy, ne sceal he in circan gongan, ne, þeah þe he bibaðod si, sona mot ingongan. Forþon seo é bibead þæm aldan Godes folce, þætte se wer, se ðe wære his wiife gemenged, þæt he sceolde wætre aðwegen 7 bebaðad beon, 7 ær sunnan setlgonge ne moste in heora gesomnunge ingongan. Þæt hwæðre mæg gastlice ongyten beon; forþon wer bið wiife gemenged, þonne unalyfedre willunge monnes mood in geþohte þurh lustfulnesse bið geþeoded. Forþon, nemne ær þæt fyr þære unrehtan willunge fro*m* þam mode acolie, ne sceal he hine wyrðne telgan broðra 7 Godes þeowa gesomnunge, seðe hine gesiið hefigadne beon þurh yfelnesse unrehtes willan. Þeah þe bi þisse wisan missenleco cynn monna missenlice ongete 7 halde, hwæðre symble wæs

l. 17. In O. Ca. B. *ylcan* is before *besmitenesse*: in T. after (*i*-). l. 18. *ge* O. Ca.; not in T. In B. the previous *ge* is omitted and 7 inserted after *mod* in

originating in sin is done without sin: as for instance when hungry we eat without sin, and yet the possibility of hunger arose from the sin of the first man. For as in the old covenant, external works were regarded, so in the new covenant, not so much the external act, as the internal thought, is carefully regarded. For while the law prohibits the eating of many things as unclean, yet in the gospel the Lord saith, 'Not that which entereth into the mouth of man defileth, but that which goeth out of the mouth, that defileth the man.' And a little after he explained that and said, 'Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts.' There it is sufficiently declared that, whatever is produced from the root of polluted and unclean thought, is shown by God Almighty to be unclean and polluted in act. About this also the apostle Paul says, 'To the clean all is clean: to the polluted and unfaithful nothing is clean.' And immediately the apostle declared the cause of this pollution, subjoining, 'Therefore their mind and conscience are polluted.' If then meat is not clean to him whose mind is unclean, why should to the woman that be accounted for uncleanness, which she with clean mind suffers by nature?

The man, who has entered his wife's bed, shall not go into church, except he be washed with water and bathed, nor though bathed may go in at once. For the law directed the old people of God, that a man, after approaching his wife, should be washed and bathed with water, and not enter their assembly before sunset. This, however, may be spiritually understood; for a man approaches a woman, when the mind is associated by delight in thought with unlawful desire. For this, unless the fire of illicit desire cool down in the mind, he shall not deem him worthy of the congregation of the brethren and God's servants, when he sees himself burdened by the evil of unrighteous desire. Though in this point various races of men have a variety of ideas and observances, yet it was ever the custom of the Romans,

the place of the second *ge*. l. 33. *þisse willan* T. O. *þissum w*. B. Ca. Read *wisan* (= de hac re).

Romana gewuna from heora yldrum æfter gemængnisse agenes wiifes, þæt heo clæsnunge bæðes 7 þweales sohton, 7 from cirican ingonge hwylchwugu fæc arwyrðlice áhabban. Þeah þe we þas þing cweðe, ne tellað we synne weosan gesinscipe; ac forðon seo alefde gemængnis wiifes buton willan þæs lichoman ne mæg beon, from ingonge þære halgan stówe is to ahaabbenne; forðon se seolfa willa nænge þinga buton synne beoh mæg. Ne wæs acenned of unrehthæmde ne þurh dyrne forlegenesse, ac acenned wæs of ælicum gesinscipe, se ðe cwæð: *Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum et in delictis peperit me mater mea*: ic wat þæt ic wæs in wænessum geeacnod 7 in scyldum mec cende min modor. Ono he wiste hine in wenessum geeacnade, he þa geomrade hine from scylde acennedne. Forðon he bær þa wætan þære uncyste in þæm telgan, þone he geteah ær of þam wyrtruman. Hwæðre in þam wordum is sweotol, þæt he wenesse nemde, nales þa gemengnisse þæs gesinscipes, ac þone seolfan willan þære gemengnisse. Forðon gedafenað, þætte seo ælice gegadrung lichoman seo for intingan tudres, nales þæs willan, 7 seo gemengnes þæs flæsces seo for intingan bearna to cennenne, nales cwemnis uncysta. Swa hwelc mon swa his wiif, nales for unrehtæs willan willunge, ac for intingan anum bruceð to streonne, þes mon is his seolfes dome to forlætenne, oððe be cirican ingonge, oðþe to onfonne þæm geryne Cristes lichoman 7 his blode; forþon we him ne sculon biwerigan þam halgan geryne onfon, se ðe in fýre geseted bið 7 beornan ne conn. Mid þy þonne seo lufu ne bið tudres to tilienne, ac se willa ma wealdeð in þæm weorce þære gemengnisse, þonne habbað þa gesinhiwan ðearfe be heora gemengdnesse, *þæt* hi wepen 7 hreowe don. Forðon seo halige laár him þis forgifeð, 7 hwæðre be þære seolfan forgifenesse mid ége þæt mood instyreð. Forðon se apostol Scs Paulus mid ðy cwæð, *Qui se continere non potest, habeat uxorem suam*, se ðe hine ahabban ne mæg, hæbbe his wiif, he ða sona se apostol underðeodde 7 æfter cwæð: *Hoc autem dico secundum indulgentiam, non secundum imperium*: ðis
p. 496. ic cweðo æfter forgifnesse, nales æfter bebodo. Forþon ne bið þæt

l. 9. *iniquitatib}* T. l. 17. *ælece* T. *-li-* O. Ca. B. l. 21. *mon* O. Ca. *mann* B. *monnes* T. l. 26. *þonne* to *gemengdnesse* not in T. As in text O.

from the time of their ancestors, that after approaching their wives they sought purification by bath and washing, and reverently abstained for some time from entering church. Though we say this, we do not account wedlock a sin; but as the lawful union with a woman may not be without carnal pleasure, a man should abstain from entering the holy place, because the pleasure itself may in no wise be without sin. He was not born of adultery nor fornication, but of lawful wedlock, who said, 'Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in peccatis concepit me mater mea;' 'I know that I was conceived in iniquity, and in transgression did my mother bear me.' Since he knew himself to be conceived in iniquity, he lamented that he was born of transgression. For he bore in the branch the sap of vice, which he previously drew from the root. Still in these words it is clear, that he called iniquity, not the union in wedlock, but the actual pleasure in the union. It is fit then that lawful copulation should be for the sake of offspring, not of pleasure, and that fleshly union should be for the sake of child-bearing, not the satisfaction of vice. Whatever man visits his wife, not with the desire of unrighteous pleasure, but only for the sake of begetting, is to be left to his own judgment, either as to entering church or receiving the sacrament of Christ's body and blood; for we shall not prohibit him from receiving the holy sacrament, who is placed in the fire and yet cannot burn. But when the desire is not to beget offspring, but pleasure prevails rather in the act of union, then the married pair have need for sorrow and repentance in their union. For the holy teaching concedes this to them, and yet, as regards the actual concession, moves the mind with terror. Therefore when the apostle St. Paul says, 'Qui se continere non potest, habeat uxorem suam,' 'he who cannot contain, let him have his wife,' at once the apostle subjoined and said, 'Hoc autem dico secundum indulgentiam, non secundum imperium,' 'but this I speak by permission, and not of commandment.' For that is not

(*gemen,nesse*), Ca. (*gemengednysse*), B. (*gemengnesse*). l. 31. *uxorē*. l. 33. *autē sēdm scām*.

forgifen, þætte alefed bið, ac þæt bið riht. Dætte he cwæð bi þære forgifnesse, þa æteawde he ðær synne weosan. Mid wæccre moode is to smeageanne 7 to geþencenne, þæt, þa he Drihten wolde his folc gesprecende beon in Sinai dúne, he þa ærest bebead, þæt heo heora hrægl woosce 7 clænsode 7 heo from wiifum ahæfde. Ono nu in þære stówe, þær þe Drihten wæs þurh þa underðeoddan gesceafte to monnum spreocende, mid swa micle forseonesse wæs þæs lichoman clænnisse asoht, þæt, þa ðe Godes worde onfengon, ne sceoldon wiifum gemengde beon, micle ma þonne þa wiif, ða ðe ælmehteges Drihtnes lichoman onfoo ð, in him seolfum sculon lichoman clænnisse healdan, þy læs heo mid þa seolfan micelnisse þæs ungeæhtendlican gerynes hefigade syn. Swelce eac bi þisse wisan to Dauide þurh þone sacerdwæs cweden be his geferum, þætte, gif heo fram wifum clæne wæren, þæt heo moston onfoon 7 þicgan þa foresetenesse hlafes, þa ðe mid him halige wæron, þa heo eallinga onfoon ne þycgan moston, ær þon Dauit ondete heo fram wiifum clæne beon. Þonne se wer, se ðe æfter his wiifes gemengnisse wætre aþwegen 7 bibaðod bið, he mot þam geryne onfón þære halgan gemænsumnesse, mid þy him eac alyfed bið, swa we ær cwædon, in cirican gongan.

Interrogatio VIIII.

Hwæðer æfter bysmrunge, seo þurh slæp wæpnedmonnum gelimpeð, oððo Drihtnes lichoman ænig onfoon mot, oðþo, gif hit sacerd bið, mot he þa halgan gerýno mærsian mæssesonga?

Responsio.

Ðeosne mon eac swylce seo cyðnis þære ealdan é bismiten cwið, swa we ær in þæm uferan kapitule cwædon, 7 him ne forgifeð þætte he móte in Godes hus gongan, nemne he sy wætre aðwegen, ne þonne gena ær æfenne. Þæt hwæðre on oðre wisan þæt gastlice folc is ongeotonde under þam ilcan ondgete, þe we foresprecende wæron. Forðon se mon bið bismrad swa swa þurh swefn, se ðe costad bið mid unclænnesse, ond þonne mid soðum onlicnessum in geþohte bið *bismiten. Ac he is mid wætre to

l. 13. *Dauide* O. Ca. B. *uide* T. l. 31. *smiten* T. *besmiten* O. Ca. B.

conceded which is lawful, but it is right. In what he said of concession, he showed that there was sin. With vigilant mind we must consider and reflect, that, when the Lord would address his people on Mount Sinai, he first commanded that they should wash and cleanse their garments and abstain from their wives. If now in the place, where the Lord spoke to men through the subject creature, bodily cleanness was sought after with such care, that those, who received God's word, should not come at their wives, much more then the women, who receive the body of the Lord Almighty, shall maintain in themselves bodily cleanness, lest they be burdened with the very greatness of the inestimable mystery. Also on this point it was declared to David by the priest about his companions, that, if they had abstained from women, they might receive and partake of the shewbread, whoever were pure among his company, which they might not at all receive, before David confessed that they had abstained from women. Then the man, who after approaching his wife is washed with water and bathed, may receive the sacrament of Holy Communion, since he is allowed, as we said before, to enter a church.

Question IX.

After the delusion, which comes on men in sleep, may one receive the Lord's body, or, in case of a priest, celebrate the holy mystery of mass?

Answer.

The Testament of the old law declares this man also polluted, as we said in the former chapter, and does not allow him to enter God's house, unless he be washed with water, nor even then before evening. This however the spiritual people will understand in another way with the same interpretation, as we made before. For a man is deluded, as it were, by a dream, who is tempted with uncleanness, and then is polluted with real imaginations in thought. But he is to be washed with water, that is, he is to wash away the

áþweanne, þæt is, þæt he þa synne þæs geþohtes mid tearum aþwea, 7 nemne ær þæt fýr þære costunge gewitee, þæt he hine scyldigne ongete swa swa oð æfentiid. Ac hwæðre is on þære ilcan bysmrunge swiðe nedþearflic gescead, þa we smealice geþencan sculon, of hwylcre wísan þæm moode hit gegonge þæs slæpendan. Forðon hwilum hit gelimpeð of oferfylle, hwilum of þæs gecyndes oferflownesse 7 untrumnisse, hwilum of geþohte. Ond þonne hit of þæs gecyndes oferflownesse 7 untrumnesse becymeð, ealle gemete þeos bysmrung nis to ondrædenne, mid þy þæt mood þis ne weotende aræfneð; forþon heo is ma to sorgienne, þonne to gefremmenne. Mid þy heo þonne gelimpeð seo bysmrung for oferfyllo, þonon hafað þæt mod hwylcehugu scylde, nales hwæðre oð bewerennisse to onfonne þæm halgan gerýne, oðþe þa symbelnesse to
p. 497. mærsienne mæssesonges, gif þæt ned abædeð oðþe symbeldæg gelimpeð oððo oþer sacerd in þære stówe ne bið, se ðe for hine þæt geryne mæssesonges gegearwie. Gif þær þonne oðre seon, þe ða þegnunge gefyllan mægge, þonne sceal he hine eaðmodlice ahabban from onsægdnesse þæs halgan gerynes, þæs þe ic demo. Gif þonne of scondlicum geþohte þæs wæccendan upcymeð seo bysmrung slæpendes, hwæt þonne openað þæm moode his scyld; forðon he gesiið from hwylcum wyrtruman seo bismitenis forðbicwom, þæt is, þæt he wæccende þohte, þæt he weotonde aræfnde. Ac þonne gena is se seolfa geþoht to asmeagenne, hwæðer he geeode þe mid scynisse þe mid lustfulnisse, oððe hwæþer þonne gena, *þæt* mare is, mid gyfunge þære synne. Forþon þrim gemetum bið gefylled ghwilc syn, *þæt* is, ærest þurh scynnesse, 7 þurh lustfullnesse, 7 þurh geðafunge. Seo scynis bið þurh deoful, seo lustfulnes bið þurh lichoman, seo geðafung þurh gast. Forðon þa ærestan synne se weriga gast scyde þurh þa næddran, ond Euae þa swa swa lichoma wæs lustfulliende, ond Ádám heo þonne swa swa gast geþafode: ða wæs seo synn gefylled. Ond micel nedþearfnis is, þætte [mid] gescead betwihan þa scynisse 7 þa lustfulnisse 7 eft betweohn þa lustfulnisse 7 þa geþafunge þæt mood seolf his dema sy. Forþon mid þy se weriga gast þa synne scyeð in moode,

l. 24. *oððe* to *lustfullnesse* not in T. Text from O. (*scy*^{n}*nesse* = Ca. *scynnysse*^{a} = B. *scynesse*). l. 32. *þætte þæt* T. *þte þ* B. *þ þ* O. Ca. *mid* not in MSS.

sin of thought with tears, and unless the fire of temptation depart, he is to consider himself as guilty, as it were till evening. But yet in this very delusion distinction is very necessary, as we should carefully consider, in what way it comes to the mind of the sleeper. For sometimes it comes from overfulness, at times from the overflow and infirmity of nature, at times from thought. When it comes from the overflow and infirmity of nature, this delusion is in no wise to be feared, as the mind does not suffer it wittingly; wherefore it is more a subject for sorrow than it is of action. When the delusion comes from overfulness, then the mind has some tinge of guilt, yet not so as to prevent receiving the Holy Communion or performing the celebration of mass, if need require, or it be a festival, or if there be no other priest in the place, who can officiate in his place in the sacrament of mass. If then others are there, who can perform the service, he shall humbly abstain from offering the holy sacrament, according to my judment. If however the sleeper's delusion arises from foul thoughts in the waking man, surely then the mind discerns its guilt, seeing from what root the pollution came, namely, that he wittingly suffered, what was in his waking thoughts. But further the thought itself is to be considered, whether it came in by suggestion or of delight, or whether further, what is more, with consent to the sin. For every sin is fulfilled in three ways, namely, first through suggestion, and through delight, and through consent. Suggestion is of the devil, delight of the body, consent of the spirit. For the accursed spirit suggested the first sin through the serpent, and Eve then, as it were the body, took delight, and Adam then, as it were the spirit, consented: then was the sin fulfilled. And there is great need, that the mind itself sit as its judge, distinguishing between suggestion and delight and again between delight and consent. For when the accursed spirit suggests

gif nænig lustfulnis þære synne æft*er*fylgeð, allum gemetu*m* ne bið þær syn þurhtogen. Mid þy þonne se lichoma onginneð lustfullian, þonne onginneð þær seo syn acenned beon. Gif he þonne mid þoncmeotunge 7 þreodunge geþeafaþ, þonne bið ongyten þær syn gefremed beon. Ond in scynisse synne, gif þæt mod bið in lustfulnesse, þæt bið fædnis: in þafunge bið deofolfremednis: ond þæt oft gelimpeð, þætte se weriga gast saweð in geþohte, þætte se lichoma þæt in lustfulnesse tihð; ond hwæðre þæt mod þære ilcan lustfulnesse ne geþafaþ. Ond mid þy we weoton þæt se lichoma ne mæg lustfullian buton þam móde, hwæðre þæt seolfe mod bið winnende wið þæm únrihtwillungum þæs lichoman: hwæt þonne þæt mód in þæm lichomlecan lustfulnesse sume gemete þurh ned bið gebunden, þæt hit þære lustfulnesse of þam sylfan rihte wiðcwyð, *þæt* hit ne geþafige; 7 hwæþere mid þa lustfulnesse gebunden bið, ac he swiðe goað 7 geomraþ hine swa gebundenne beon. Bi ðon se mæsta cempa 7 se hehsta þæs heofonlican weorodes Scs Paulus se apostol goiende 7 geomriende cwæð: Ic geseo oðere æ in minum leomum wiðfeohtende þære æ mines moodes, 7 gehæftedne mec is lædende in synne æ, seo is in minum leomum. Ono gif he gehæfted wæs, hwæt he þonne nó feaht; ac þa he feaht, forðon he wæs gehæfted. Ono he feaht mid þa æ þæs moodes, þære wiðfeaht seo æ, seo þe in his leomum wæs. Gif he feaht, ne wæs he gehæfted. Ono se mon bið, þæs þe swa to cweðenne sy, æghwæðer ge gehæfted ge freo: he bið freo of þære soðfæstnesse, þe he lufaþ; he bið hæfted of þære lustfullnesse, þe bireð he geneded.

Þis seondon ondsware þæs eadigan papan Scs Gregorius to geþeahtunge 7 to frignesse þæs arwyrðan biscopes Agustinus.

p. 498. Cap. 29. Swelce Agustinus heht him eac onbeodan, þætte her wære micel rip onweard 7 fea worhton; ond he ða sende mid þæm foresprecenan ærendwrecan him maran fultom to godcundre lare. In þæm wæron þa ærestan 7 þa mæstan Mellitus 7 Iustus 7 Paulinus 7 Ruffianus; ond þurh heo sende gemænelice þa þing all,

l. 13. *bið* O. Ca. B. *bid* T. *of þam* to *lustfulnesse* not in T. Text from O. l. 28. These words (*swelce*, etc.) follow after *onsende* (cap. 27) without any break in MSS. *her wære* O. Ca. B. *he ðære* T.

sin in the mind, if no delight in the sin follow, in no wise then is the sin carried out. But when the body begins to have pleasure, then first is sin born. If he then consent with thought and deliberation, then sin is understood to be committed. And in the suggestion of sin, if the mind is in delight, that is nutriment: in consent the devil fulfils his purpose: and it often happens, that what the accursed spirit sows in the thought, the body makes into delight; and yet the mind does not assent to the delight. And while we know that the body cannot have delight without the mind, yet the mind itself struggles against the unlawful desires of the body: so then the mind, in this delight of the body, is in a way held fast by compulsion, so that with the reason itself it refuses assent to the delight; and yet is held fast by the delight, deeply groaning and lamenting at being so held fast. For this cause the most mighty and exalted champion of the heavenly host, the apostle St. Paul, with groans and lamentations thus spake, 'I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin, which is in my members.' Now if he was captive, then certainly he did not fight; but as he fought, he was for that reason taken captive. Now he fought with the law of the mind, which the law in his members resisted. If he fought, he was not captive. Well then man is, so to speak, both captive and free. He is free, because of the truth he loves, captive, because of the delight which he submits to out of compulsion.

These are the answers of the blessed pope St. Gregory to the consultation and enquiry of the venerable bishop Augustine.

Augustine also bade them announce to him, that the harvest here was now plenteous, but the labourers few; so he then sent him with the aforesaid envoys greater help for the teaching of the Word. The first and chiefest among these were Mellitus and Justus and Paulinus and Ruffianus; and he sent by them all those things in general, which were necessary for church worship and service,

þa ðe to cirican bigonge 7 þegnunge nedþearflecu wæron, huslfatu 7 wigbedhrægl 7 circan frætwednes 7 biscopgegyrlan 7 diacongegyrlan, swylce eac þara apostola 7 haligra martira reliquias 7 monige bec. Sende eac swylce Agustine þæm biscope pallium 7 gewrit, in þam he getacnode, hu he sceolde oðre biscopas halgian 7 on hwylcum stowum settan in Breotone.

Cap. 32. Sende eac swilce se eadiga papa in þa ilcan tid Gregorius Æþelberhte cyninge ærendgewrit somed 7 woruldgíse monige in missenlicum mægwlitum: wolde eac þone cyning swilce mid þissum wilwendlicum aarum wuldrigan, þæm þe he ðæs heofonlican rices wuldor mid his gewinne 7 mid his lare geornnesse openede 7 cyðde.

XVII.[1]

Cap. 33. Ond ða Scs Agustinus se biscop sona, þæs þe he þæm biscopsetle onfeng in þære cynelecan byrg, ða edneowade 7 worhte mid cyninges fultome þa cirican, þe he ær geara geo geleornade ealde Romanisce weorce geworhte beon; ond þa in usses Drihtnes Hælendes Cristes noman gehalgode; ond he þær him seolfum eardungstowe gesette 7 eallum his æfterfylgendum. Swelce eac mynster getimbrade be eastan þære ceastre, in þæm mid his trymnesse 7 lare Æðelberht se cyning weorðlice cyrcan heht getim-
p. 499. bran þara eadigra apostola Petri 7 Pauli, 7 mid missenlecum geofum welgade; in þære cirican Agustinus lic 7 ealra Contwarena biscopa somed ge heora cyninga geseted beon meahte. Þa cirican hwæðre nales he Agustinus, ac Laurentius biscop his æfterfylgend heo gehalgode. Wæs se æresta abbud þæs ylcan mynstres Petrus haten mæssepreost, se wæs eft ærendwræca sended in Gallia rice, ond þa wæs besenced in sumne sæs sceat, se wæs haten Amfleat; 7 from þære stowe bigengum in uncýmre byrgenne geseted wæs. Ac se ælmihti God wolde gecyþan, hwylcre gearnunge se halga wer wære: ond æghwelce niht ofer his byrgenne heofonlic leoht wæs æteawed, oð þæt þa nealmen ongeton, þa hit gesawon, þætte þæt wæs micel wer 7 halig mon, se ðe þær bebyrged wæs. Ond heo ða aspyredon þæt, 7 hwonan he wæs: genoman þa

[1] The number XXXIII in T. is a late alteration out of XVII. Ca. has XXVIIII. l. 24. *a. gustinus* (one letter erased) T. *ag.* O. Ca. B.

sacramental vessels, altar covers, church ornaments, bishops' and deacons' robes, as well as relics of the apostles and holy martyrs, and many books. He sent also to bishop Augustine a pallium and a letter, in which he signified how he should consecrate other bishops, and in what places in Britain he should establish them. The blessed pope Gregory sent also at the same time a letter to king Æthelberht, along with many worldly gifts of various kinds: he desired also with these temporal distinctions to glorify the king, to whom, by his labour and zeal in teaching, he disclosed and made known the glory of the kingdom of heaven.

XVII.

Then the bishop St. Augustine, as soon as he received the episcopal seat in the royal city, repaired and restored with the king's help the church, which he learnt had been constructed long ago of old Roman work; and he consecrated it in the name of our Lord and Saviour Christ; and there he established a habitation for himself and all his successors. He also erected a monastery to the east of the town, in which, by his exhortation and direction, king Æthelberht ordered a church to be erected of becoming splendour, dedicated to the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and endowed it with a variety of gifts; in which church the body of Augustine and also those of all bishops and kings of Canterbury might be laid. However it was not Augustine, but his successor bishop Laurentius, who consecrated the church. The first abbot of this monastery was a priest called Peter. Afterwards he was sent as an envoy to Gaul, and there was drowned in an inlet of the sea called Ambleteuse; and he was buried by the inhabitants of this place in a mean tomb. But God Almighty desired to make known, what the deserts of this holy man were: and every night over his tomb a heavenly light was displayed, till those, that dwelt near and saw it, understood that it was a great and holy man who there was buried. Then they enquired as to this, and whence he came; then they took his body, and it was deposited and buried in a church in

his lichoman, ond in Bonagia þa ceastre, æfter gerisenre áre swa miclum were 7 swa halgum in cyrican gesette 7 bebyrged wæs.

XVIII.[1]

Cap. 34. Þyssum tidum forewæs Norðanhymbra rice se strongesta cyning 7 se gylpgeornesta, Æðelfrið haten. Se me allum Ongolcynnum 7 aldormonnum Bretta þeode fornom 7 forhergade, swa efne þæs ðe meahte wiðmeten beon Saule iu cyninge Israhela þeode, butan þæt he wæs þære godcundan æfestnisse unwís. Ne wæs æfre ænig cyninga ne aldormonna, þætte má heora londa utamærde 7 him to gewealde underþeodde; forðon he to gafolgyldum heo gesette Ongolþeode, oðþe of heora londum adráf. Meahte se cwide wel beon to him geþeoded, þe Iacob se heahfæder in Saules hade þæs cyninges cwæð, þa he his sunu bletsode: Beniamin is risende wulf; on ærmergen he iteð hloðe 7 on æfenne herereaf dæleð. Ða wæs for his fromscipe onstyred Ædan Scotta cyning, þa ðe in Breotone eardigað; teah hine þa ferd on 7 cwom mid únmæte weorode 7 stronge wið hine to gefeohte. Ac he hwæðre oferswiðed mid feawum onweg fleah. Wæs ðis gefeoht geworden on þære mæran stowe þe cweden is Degsastan. Þær lytestne eal his weorud ófslegen wæs. On þam gefeohte eac swylce Ðeodbald Æþelfriþes broþor wæs ofslægen mid ealle þy weorode þe he lædde. *Þæt* gefeoht Æþelfrið gefremede þy endlyftan geare his rices, *þæt* he hæfde feower 7 twentig wintra. Þæt wæs þæt æreste gear Focatis þæs caseres, se þe hæfde Romana rice. Siððan of þære tide nænig Sceotta cyninga ne dorste wið Angelþeode to gefeohte cuman oð ðysne andweardan dæg.

Her endað seo æreste boc
7 onginneð seo oðer.

[1] The number in T. is now XXXIIII (sic) made out of original XVIII (?). In Ca. XXXI. l. 3. In T. *fore fore*, the first being in capitals: *fore* (once) O. Ca.: B. omits both, reading *cining* for *rice*. l. 14. *feor* (*e* imperfectly erased) T. *for* O. Ca. B. l. 17. Tanner 4^a ends *on*: a leaf is lost: text

the town of Boulogne, with the honour suitable to a man so great and so holy.

XVIII.

At this time there ruled over the kingdom of Northumbria a king named Æthelfrith, who was very brave and very ambitious. He destroyed and wasted the Britons more than all the English and their chiefs, so that he might be exactly compared to Saul of old, king of Israel, except that he was ignorant of the divine religion. There never was a king or chief who depopulated or reduced to subjection more of their lands; for he rendered them tributary to the English or drove them out of their country. The words might [illegible] appropriated to him, which the patriarch Jacob said re[illegible]g the person of king Saul, when he blessed his son: 'Benja[illegible] a ravening wolf: in the morning he shall devour the prey, [illegible]n the evening he shall divide the spoil.' Then Ædan, king [illegible]e Scots who dwell in Britain, was roused by his progress; he [illegible] to war, and came with a vast and powerful host to fight [illegible]nst him. However he was defeated, and fled away with only a [illegible]. This battle took place at that famous place which is called [illegible]wston. There almost all his host was slain. In this battle too [illegible]eodbald, Æthelfrith's brother, was slain, with all the host he led. Ethelfrith finished this war in the eleventh year of his reign, which lasted twenty-four years. This was the first year of the emperor Phocas, who was at the head of the Roman power. From that time on no king of the Scots ventured to meet the English in battle, up to this present day.

Here ends the first book
and the second begins.

from O. l. 19. *ofslegen wæs*, O. *ofslegen wæs* Ca. *wæs ofslagen* B. l. 21. *ge,feoht* O. *gefeoht* Ca. B. l. 26–7. From Ca. Nothing in O. or B.; O. has blank of half line; B. blank space of two lines.

LIBER SECUNDUS[1].

I.

p. 500. Cap. 1. ÐYSSUM tidum, þæt is fif winter 7 syx hund wintra æfter þære Drihtenlican menniscnesse, se eadiga papa Gregorius, æfter þon þe he þæt setl þære Romaniscan cyricean 7 þære apostolican þreottyne gear 7 syx monað 7 tyn dagas wulderlice heold 7 rehte, þa wæs forðfered 7 to þam ecan setle þæs heofonlican rices læded wæs. Heold he 7 rehte þa cyricean on þara casera tidum Maurici 7 Uocati; 7 þy æfteran geare þæs ylcan Uocatis þæt he forðfe[rd] þyssum life, 7 ferde to þam soðan life þam þe on heofo[n] 7 his lichama wæs bebyriged on Scē Petres cyricean befor[a] husulportice þy feorþan dæge idus Martiarum, 7 he nu hwo[l] þam ilcan bið on wuldre arisende mid oþrum hyrdum þære h[i] cyricean. 7 awriten is on his byrigenne þysses gemetes by[s] leoð.

Onfoh þu eorþe lichaman of þinum lichaman genumen, þæ[t] hine eft agyfan mæge, þonne hine God liffæste. Se gast úp heofon gesohte; nænig anweald deaþes him sceðþað; þam o[f] lifes se sylfa deað me is weg. Þæs hean bisceopes leoma on þys byrigenne syndon betyned, se symble leofað gehwær on unrim godum. Earmra hungur he oferswiðde mid mettum, 7 heora cyle mid hrægle, 7 he mid halgum monungum saule fram feonde gescylde. 7 he mid dęde gefyldé, swa hwæt swa he mid worde lærde. Wæs he gerynelico word sprecende, þæt he lifes bysen wære haligra manna. To Criste he Ongle gehwyrfde mid arfæstnesse lareowdomes. (Wæs he on ðære þeode begytende níwe wered Godes geleafan.) Þis gewin 7 þissum gelic, þeos gemen þe wæs, 7 þis þu hyrde dydest, þæt þu Drihtne brohtest micel gestreon

[1] Page heading in Ca. The chapter headings (from Ca.) are now in order.

l. 5. *heofonlica*^{n}, *rices* *læded wæs*, *heold* O. (Ca. B. as in text.) l. 15. *þonne* *hine*, *god* O. (Ca. B. as in text.) l. 20. *halgum* (*u* on erasure) O. *halgū* Ca. *halegum* B. *mon*^{un}. *gum* (one letter erased) O. *monungum* Ca. *manegum* B. *feo*^{n}*de*

BOOK II.

I.

At this time, that is, six hundred and five years after the incarnation of our Lord, the blessed pope Gregory, after he had ruled and directed the see of the Roman and apostolic church with great glory for thirteen years six months and ten days, departed this life, and was led to his everlasting seat in the kingdom of heaven. He ruled and directed the church in the time of the emperors Mauricius and Phocas; and it was in the second year of this Phocas, that he departed this life and went to the true life which is in heaven: and his body was buried in the church of St. Peter before the sacristy on the twelfth of March, and he now will one day with it arise in glory with other pastors of the holy church. And on his tomb an epitaph is written to this effect, 'Receive, thou earth, body taken of thy body, that thou mayest again give it up when God quickens it. The spirit mounted to heaven; no power of death will hurt it; death itself is for it rather the way to a second life. The members of this exalted bishop are enclosed in this tomb, who lives ever and everywhere by his countless good deeds. The hunger of the poor he assuaged with food, and their chill with garments, and he by holy admonitions protected their souls from the foe. And he fulfilled in deed, whatever he taught in word. He spoke mystic words, that he might be an example of life to holy men. By the piety of his teaching he converted the English to Christ, and of them won fresh hosts for God's faith. This toil and more like this, this care thou hadst and this thou didst as a pastor, so that thou broughtest to the Lord a great treasure of holy souls. In these triumphs thou mayest rejoice,

(*eo* on erasure) O. *feonde* B. *-dū* Ca. l. 21. *dęd* O. *dœde* Ca. B. l. 24. *-domes* (*e* by erasure out of *œ*) O. *gewin* ⁊ *þis* ⁊ *gelic þeos gemen þe wæs* ⁊ *þis þu hyrde dydest* O. Ca. has *þyssū*, omits *þe wæs*, and has *þus ðu*. B. inserts the words in brackets (not in O. Ca. C.), and then continues *þis gewinn wæs gamen ðe þu sorgende dydest*.

haligra saula: þyssum sigorum þu Godes bysceop blissian miht, forþon þu þinra weorca ece mede butan ende nimest.

p. 501. Nis us þonne se hlisa to foreswigienne, þe be þam eadigan Gregorie þurh yldra manna segene to us becom, for hwilcum intingan he monad wære, *þæt* he swa geornfulle gymenne dyde ymb þa hælo ure þeode. Secgeað hi, *þæt* sume dæge þider niwan come cypemen of Brytene 7 monig cepe þing on ceapstowe brohte, 7 eac monige cwomon to biegenne þa ðing. Þa gelomp þætte Gregorius betweoh oðre eac þider cwom, 7 þa geseah betweoh oðer þing cype cneohtas þær gesette: wæron hwites lichoman 7 fægres ondwlitan men 7 æðellice gefeaxe. Ða he ða heo geseah 7 beheold, þa frægn he, of hwelcon londe oðþe of hwylcre þeode hy brohte wæron. Sægde him mon, þæt heo of Breotone ealonde brohte wæron, ond þæs ealondes bigengan swelcre onsyne men wæron. Eft he frægn, hwæðer þa ilcan londleode cristne wæron þe hi þa gen in hæðennesse gedwolan lifden. Cwæð him mon to 7 sægde, þæt heo hæðne wæron; 7 he ða of inneweardre heortan swiðe sworette 7 þus cwæð: Wala wá: þæt is sarlic, þætte swa fæger feorh 7 swa leohtes ondwlitan men scyle ágan 7 besittan þeostra aldor.

Eft he frægn, hwæt seo þeod nemned wære, þe heo of cwomon. Ondswarede him mon þæt heo Ongle nemde wæron. Cwæð he: Wel þæt swa mæg: forðon heo ænlice onsyne habbað, 7 eac swylce gedafonað, þæt heo engla æfenerfeweardas in heofonum sy. Þa gyt he furðor frægn 7 cwæð: Hwæt hatte seo mægð, þe þa cneohtas hider of lædde wæron. Þa ondswarede him mon 7 cwæð, þæt heo Dere nemde wæron. Cwæð he: Wel þæt is cweden Dere, *de ira eruti*; heo sculon of Godes yrre beon abrogdene, 7 to Cristes mildheortnesse gecegde. Ða gyt he ahsode hwæt heora cyning haten wære: 7 him mon ondswarade 7 cwæð, þætte he Ælle haten wære. Ond þa plegode he mid his wordum to þæm noman 7 cwæð: Alleluia, þæt gedafenað, þætte Godes lof usses scyppendes in þæm dælum sungen sy. Ond he þa sona eode to ðæm biscope 7 to ðam papan þæs apostolican seðles, forðon he seolfa þa gyt næs

l. 2. O. has *we,rca*; *ece* (*e* out of *æ*); *.ninest* (a stroke erased). Ca. has *weorca*; *ece*; *nimest* (*brucest* above). B. *worca*; *ece*; *nimest*. l. 5. *monað* O.

thou bishop of God, because thou hast an eternal reward for thy works without end.'

We cannot pass over in silence the report which has come to us by the tradition of older men about the blessed Gregory, as to the reason why he was warned to take such zealous care for the salvation of our people. They say, that one day merchants came there fresh from Britain, and brought to market many wares, and many also came to buy those things. Then it happened that Gregory among others also came there, and saw among other objects for sale, youths placed there: they were men of fair complexion and handsome appearance with beautiful hair. When he saw them there and regarded them, he asked from what land or race they were brought, and was told that they were brought from the island of Britain, and that the inhabitants of this island had this appearance. Again he asked, whether the people in that country were christians or still living in heathen error. They replied and told him that they were still heathen; and he then sighed deeply from the bottom of his heart and thus spoke, 'Alas the pity! it is grievous that such fair forms and men of such bright faces should be owned and possessed by the prince of darkness.' Again he asked what the people was called from which they came; they answered that they were called English. He said, 'That may well be; for their look is peerless, and also it is fit that they should be joint-heirs with the angels in heaven.' Then he further asked and said, 'What is the people called, from which the youths were brought here?' They answered him and said that they were named Deiri. He said, 'Deiri is well said, de ira eruti; they shall be rescued from God's wrath and called to the mercy of Christ.' Further he asked their king's name; and they answered and said that he was called Ælle. And then he played on the name in his words and said, 'Alleluia, 'tis fit that the praise of God our creator should be sung in those parts.' And then he went at once to the bishop and pope of the apostolic see, because he himself had not yet been

(cross-stroke partially erased). *gymenne* (*y* on erasure) O. *-y-* Ca. B. l. 7. *come* (*o* on erasure) O. *-o-* Ca B. *bytene* O. *bry-* Ca. B. l. 8. T. begins again 5ª, *cwomon*. l. 16. (*i* out of *e*?) T. *hi* O. Ca. B.

biscop geworden: bæd hine, þæt he Ongolþeode onsende in Breotene hwelcehwego lareowas, þætte þurh þa heo to Criste gecyrrede wæron; ond cwæð þæt he selfa geara wære mid Godes fultome þæt weorc to fremmenne, gif þæm apostolican papan þæt licade, 7 ðæt his willa 7 his leafnis wære. Þa ne wolde se papa þæt þafian ne þa burgware þon ma, þætte swa æðele wer 7 swa geþungen 7 swa gelæred swa feor fram him gewite. Ah he sona hraðe, þæs þe he biscop geworden wæs, þætte he gefremede þæt weorc þæt he longe wilnade, 7 þa halgan lareowas hider onsende, þe we ær beforan sægdon. Ond he Scs Gregorius mid his trymnessum 7 mid his gebedum wæs gefultumende, þæt heora laar wære wæstmbeorende to Godes willan 7 to ræde Ongolcynne.

II.[1]

p. 502. Cap. 2. Ða wæs ðætte Agustinus se biscop mid Æðelberhtes fultome þæs cyninges gelaðode to his spræce Bretta biscopas 7 lareowas in þære stowe, þe mon gyt nemneð Agustinus aac, in Hwicna gemære 7 Westseaxna. Ond he ða ongon mid broðorlice lufan heo manian 7 læran, þæt heo rihte sibbe 7 lufan him betweonum hæfden, 7 gemæne gewin fore Drihtne ondfenge godcunde lare to læranne Ongolþeode. 7 heo him hyran ne woldon, ne woldon riht Eastran healdan in heora tid; ge eac monig oðer þing þære ciriclican annisse heo ungelice 7 wiðerword hæfdon. Ða heo þa hæfdon longe spræce 7 geflit ymb þa þing, ne heo Agustines larum ne his benum ne his þeawum 7 his geferena ænige þinga geþafian woldon, ac heo heora sylfra þeawas 7 gesetenesse betron dydon, þon heo geþwæredan eallum Cristes circum geond middangeard, þa se halga fæder Agustinus þisses gewinnesfullan geflites ende gesette 7 þus cwæð: Uton biddan ælmihtigne God, se ðe eardigan deð þa anmodan in his fæder huse, þæt he geeaðmodige us togetacnian mid heofonlicum wundrum, hwelc gesetenes to fylgenne sy, hwelcum wegum to efestenne sy to ingonge his rices. Læde mon hider to us sumne untrumne mon; ond þurh swa hwelces bene swa he

[1] II Ca. XVII (?) T. The numbers in T. have been altered and defaced by a late hand, and will only occasionally be cited. l. 24. *þon* T. *þon̄* O. *þonn̄* Ca. *þonne* B. (*þon*=*þonne* recurs in T.)

made bishop: he begged him to send some teachers to Britain for the English, that they through them might be converted to Christ; and he said that he himself was ready with God's help to carry out that work, if it pleased the apostolical pontiff, and it were with his will and leave. But the pope would not suffer that, nor yet the citizens, that a man so noble and so excellent and so learned should go so far from them. But as soon as he was made bishop, he carried out the object that he had long desired, and sent here the holy teachers, whom we mentioned before. And by his exhortations and prayers St. Gregory gave his help, that their teaching might be fruitful with God's will and with benefit to the English people.

II.

Then bishop Augustine, supported by king Æthelberht, invited to a conference the bishops and teachers of the Britons, at a place still called the oak of Augustine, on the borders of the Hwiccas and West Saxons. And he there began with brotherly love to admonish and teach them, to maintain due peace and love among one another, and to undertake joint labour for God in order to instruct the people of England in the divine teaching. But they would not listen to him, nor would they keep Easter at its proper time; and they had also many other observances dissimilar and contrary to the unity of the church. Now when they had had a long discussion and conflict on these points, and would not in any way assent to the teaching and entreaties of Augustine, nor to his usages and those of his clergy,—but preferred their own usages and ordinances, rather than conform to all the churches of Christ throughout the world,—then the holy father Augustine put an end to this wearisome conflict and spoke as follows: 'Come, let us pray God Almighty, who maketh those who are of one mind to dwell in his Father's house, that he will condescend to declare to us by heavenly miracles, which ordinance is to be followed, and on what path we must speed to enter his kingdom. Let them bring here to us some sick man; and let the faith and works

gehæled sy, þisses geleafa 7 wyrcnis seo lefed God onfenge 7 allum to fylgenne. Þa geðafodan þæt uneaðe þa his gesacan, þa lædde mon forð sumne blinde mon of Ongolcynne. Wæs ærest læded to Bretta biscopum: 7 he nænige hælo ne frofre þurh heora segnunge onfeng. Þa æt nehstan wæs Agustinus mid reohtre ned-þearfnisse gebæded; aras 7 gebegde his cneo; bæd God Fæder ælmihtigne, þæt he þam blindan men gesyhðe forgefe, þæt he þurh anes monnes lichomlice inlihtnesse in monigra geleafsumra heortan þæs gastlican leohtes gife onbærnde. Þa sona buton eldnesse wæs se blinda man onlehted 7 gesyhðe onfeng: ond se soða boda þæs hean leohtes Agustinus wæs from him eallum bodad 7 hered. Ða ondetton eac Brettas scomiende þæt heo ongeton, þætte þæt wære soðfæstnesse weg þone Agustinus bodade. Cwædon hwæðre þæt heo ne meahton buton heora leoda geþafunge 7 lefnesse heora ealdan þeawas onscunian 7 forlætan: bædon þæt eft oðer seonoð wære; 7 heo þonne wolden mid ma heora witena gesecan.

Þa se ða geseted wæs, cwomon seofon Bretta biscopas 7 ealle þa gelæredestan men, þa wæron swiðost of Boncra byrig. Þære tide Dinoð wæs haten þæs mynstres abbod. Þa heo þa to þæm gemote ferdon, þa cwomon heo ærest to sumum aancoran, se wæs mid him halig 7 wiis. Frugnon heo hine 7 ahsodon, hwæðer heo sceoldon
p. 503. to Agustinus láre heora gesetenesse 7 heora þeawas forlæton. Ondswarede he him: Gif he Godes man sy, fylgað ge him. Cwædon heo to him: Be hwon magon we ðæt weotan, hwæðer he sy? Cwæð he: Drihten seolfa cwæð in his godspelle: Nimað ge min geoc ofer eow eac 7 leorniað æt me, þæt ic eom milde 7 eaðmodre heortan: 7 nu gif Agustinus is milde 7 eaðmodre heortan, þonne ís he gelyfed þæt he Cristes geoc bere 7 eow lære to * beorenne. Gif he þonne is únmilde 7 oferhygdig, þonne is þæt cuð þæt he nis of Gode, ne ge his worda gemað. Cwædon heo eft: Be hwon magon we þis gescead witon? Cwæð he: Foreseoð ge þætte he ærest mid his geferum to þære seonoðstowe cume 7 gesitte. Ond gif he arise ongegnes eow þonne ge cuman, þonne

l. 2. *allu* T. *eallũ* B. Ca. O. (*um*). l. 6. *begde* T. *bigde* B. *gebigde* O. Ca. l. 27. 7 *nu* to *heortan* not in T. Text from O. l. 29. *beorrenne* (*beor* ends 6^b, *renne* begins 7^a) T. *beranne* O. *berenne* Ca. *berende* B.

of him, through whose prayers he is healed, be believed acceptable to God and to be followed by all.'

When his opponents reluctantly consented, they brought out a blind man of English descent. First he was brought to the bishops of the Britons: and he received neither healing nor comfort by their benediction. Then at last Augustine was compelled by the just necessity of the case; he arose and bowed his knee; he prayed God the Father Almighty to give the blind man sight, that he, by the bodily illumination of one man, might kindle the grace of spiritual light in the hearts of many faithful men. Then without delay light was given to the blind, and he received his sight: and Augustine was declared and magnified by all as the true declarer of light from on high. Then the Britons also acknowledged with shame their conviction, that that was the way of truth which Augustine declared. They said however, that they might not without consent and leave from their people reject and give up their old usages: they begged that a second synod might be held again, and they would come with more of their leading men. When this was settled, there came seven bishops of the Britons and all their most learned men, who were chiefly from Bangor. At that time the abbot of this monastery was called Dinoth. As they were on their way to the meeting, they came first to an anchorite, a holy and wise man among them. They consulted him and asked, whether they should give up their own ordinances and usages in accordance with Augustine's teaching. He answered them: 'If he is a man of God, follow him.' They said to him, 'How may we know whether he is one?' He said, 'The Lord himself saith in his gospel, "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, that I am meek and of lowly heart:" and now if Augustine is meek and of lowly heart, then it is credible that he bears the yoke of Christ and teaches you to bear it. If however he is not meek but proud, then it is clear that he is not of God; and heed not his words.'

They said again, 'How may we discern this?' He said, 'See that he comes first with his followers to the place of meeting and takes his seat. And if he rises up to meet you when you come, then be

46336

witað ge þæt he bið Cristes þeow, 7 geeaðmodlice his word 7 his lare gehyrað. Gif he þonne eow eac forhogie 7 eow ne wille arisan togegnes, mid þy eower má is, sy he þonne from eow forhogad. Hwæt heo dydon, swa swa he cwæð. Cwomon heo to þære seonoðstowe: sæt se ærcebiscop Agustinus on setle. Þa heo þa gesegon þæt he ne aras for him, þa wæron hi sona yrre gewordne 7 hine oferhygdigne tealdon 7 eallum his wordum hy wiðcwædon 7 wiðwunnun. Cwæð he se heah biscop to him: In monegum þingum ge wiðerworde wæron ussum gewunan 7 ealre Godes cirican swa. Ond hwæðre gif ge æt þissum þreom þingum me hyrsume beon willað, þæt ge ærest rihte Eastron weorðien in heora tiid; ond ge þa þegnunge fulwihte, þurh þa we beoð Gode to bearnum acende, æfter þeowe þære halgan Romaniscan cirican 7 þære apostolican gefyllen; ond þæt þridde, þæt ge Ongolþeode ætgædre mid us Drihtnes word bódige, all oðer þing ða ge doð, þeah heo ussum þeawum wiðerworde syn, we geþyldelice araefnað. Cwædon heo, þæt heo nænig þyssa don wolde, ne hine for ærcebiscop habban wolden. Spræcon him betweonum: Gif he nu for us arísan ne wolde, micle ma gif we him underþeodde beoð, he us eac for noht gehygeð. Þa se Godes wer Scs Agustinus is sægd þæt he beotigende forecwæde, gif heo sibbe mid Godes monnum onfon ne wolden, þæt heo wæren unsibbe 7 gefeoht from heora feondum onfonde: ond gif heo Ongolcynne lifes weg bodigan ne woldon, þæt heo þonne wæron þurh heora honda deaðes wræc þrowigende.

Þæt þurh eal, swa se Godes wer forecwæð, rehte Godes dóme geworden wæs. Ond sona hræðe æfter þissum þætte Æþelfrið Ongla cyning, bi ðæm we ær spræcon, gesomnode micle fyrd 7 þa gelædde to Legaceastre 7 þær wið Brettum gefeaht: 7 ðæt mæste wæl geslogon þære getreowleasan þeode. Mid þy he þæt feoht ongon, þa geseah he Æðelfrið se cyning heora sacerdas 7 biscopas 7 munecas sundor stondan ungewæpnade in gehęldran stowe, þæt heo scoldon for heora compweorod gebiddan 7 to Gode þingian. Frægn he 7
p. 504. ahsode, hwæt þæt weorod wære 7 hwæt heo þær dydon. Þa he ða

l. 6. Before *gesegon* erasure of two letters, *g* is partly on latter, T. No variant in MSS. l. 14. *gefyllen* (erasure before *n*: stroke of *e* drawn across

sure that he is Christ's servant, and listen to his words and his teaching with submissiveness. If however he scorns you and will not rise to meet you, when you are in the majority, then let him be scorned by you.' Now they did, just as he said. They came to the place of meeting: archbishop Augustine sat in his chair. When they saw that he did not rise up for them, they were at once angered and considered him haughty and contradicted and opposed all his words. The great bishop said to them: 'In many things you were opposed to our rite and that of the universal church of God too. And yet if you will hearken to me in these three things, that first you will keep the right Easter at its proper time; and if you will celebrate the office of baptism, through which we are born children of God, according to the usage of the Holy Roman and apostolical church; and if, thirdly, you will join us in preaching God's word to the English, we will patiently tolerate everything else that you do, though they are opposed to our usages.' They replied, that they would not do any of these things, nor have him as archbishop. Among themselves they said, 'If he would not now rise up for us, much more will he regard us as nought, if we are subject to him.' Then St. Augustine, the man of God, is said to have threatened and foretold, that if they would not accept peace with God's servants, they would have hostility and war from their enemies: and if they would not preach the way of life to the English, they would suffer the penalty of death at their hands. All this followed, by the just judgment of God, as foretold by the man of God. And very soon after this, Æthelfrith, king of the Angles, about whom we spoke before, assembled a large army and led it to Chester, and fought there with the Britons: and they made a very great carnage among the unbelieving people. When king Æthelfrith began the battle, he saw their priests and bishops and monks standing apart, unarmed, in a safer position, that they might pray and entreat God for their host. He enquired and asked, what that gathering was, and what they did there. When he

it) T. *gefyllen* O. *gefyllan* Ca. *gefilleduesse* B. l. 23. *onfonde* O. Ca. B. *onfonne* T.

ongeat þone intingan heora cymes, cwæð he: Hwæt ic wat, gif heo wiþ us to heora Gode cleopigaþ, þeah þe heo wępen ne beran, þæt heo wiþ us feohtaþ, forðon heo us mid heora wiðerwordum onbenum 7 wyrgnessum ehtaþ. Heht þa sona ærest on heo cerran 7 slean. Secgaþ men þæt þæs weorodes wære twelf hund monna, 7 heora fiftig þurh fleam onweg losodon. 7 he swa þa oðer weorod þare mánfullan þeode fornom 7 fordilgade, nales buton micelre wonunge his weoredes. Ond swa wæs gefylled se witedom þæs halgan biscopes Agustinus, þæt heo sceolden for heora treowleasnisse hwilendlicre forwyrde wræc þrowigan, forðon heo þa ær lærdon geþeahte heora ecre hælo forhogodon.

III.

Cap. 3. Ða wæs æfter ðissum þætte Agustinus Breotone ærcebiscop gehalgade twegen biscopas: oðer wæs Mellitus haten, oðer Iustus. Þone Mellitum he sende Eastseaxum to bodigenne godcunde lare, þa seondon Temese streame tosceadne from Centlonde 7 to eastsæ geðeoddè. Is heora aldorburg nemned Lundenceaster, on ófere geseted þæs foresprecenan streames; ond seo is monigra folca ceapstow of londe 7 of sæ cumendra. In þære þeode wæs in þa tíd Sæberht cyning, Æðelberhtes swustorsunu 7 his hera. Ða onfeng Eastseaxna þeod soðfæstnisse word 7 Cristes geleafan þurh Mellitus láre þæs biscopes. Þa heht Æðelberht cyning in Lundenceastre cirican getimbran, 7 þa gehalgian Scī Pauli þæm apostoli, þæt he in ðære stowe biscopsetl hæfde 7 his æfterfylgend. Þone Iustum he in Cent sylfre to biscope gehalgode to Hrofesceastre. Seo is from Cantwarena byrig on feower 7 twentigum mila westrihte. In þære ceastre eac swylce Æðelberht cyning heht cirican getimbran 7 þa gehalgian Scē Andreæ þæm apostoli. Ond se cyning æghwæðerum þissa biscopa his gyfe sealde 7 boclond 7 ahte, him to brucanne mid heora geferum. After þissum þa forðferde Gode se leofa fæder Agustinus: 7 his lichoma wæs úte bebyrged neah cirican þara eadigra apostola Petrus 7 Paulus, þe we ær gemyngodon; forðon heo þa gytá næs fullice geworht ne gehalgod. Sona þæs þe

l. 14. *bodienne* O. Z. *bodigenne* Ca. *bodianne* B. *bodigende* T. l. 31. *ciricum* T. *cyricean* O. Ca. *ciricean* B.

understood the cause of their coming, he said: 'Well then I am sure, if they call to their God against us, though they do not bear arms, that they fight against us, because they assail us with their adverse imprecations and curses.' Then he ordered, at once, to turn first against them and slay them. They say that there were twelve hundred in that gathering, and fifty of them got away by flight. And then he destroyed and cut to pieces the rest of the host of that sinful people, not without great loss to his own army. And so was fulfilled the prophecy of the holy bishop Augustine, that they should suffer the penalty of temporal destruction for their faithlessness, because they despised the counsel previously given them for their eternal salvation.

III.

Then after this Augustine, archbishop of Britain, consecrated two bishops; the one was called Mellitus, the other Justus. He sent Mellitus to preach the word of God to the East Saxons, who are separated by the river Thames from Kent and adjoin the eastern sea. Their chief town is called London, situated on the bank of the aforesaid river; it is a mart for many nations coming by sea and land. In that province Sæberht was then king, nephew of Æthelberht and dependent on him. Then the province of the East Saxons received the word of truth and faith of Christ by the teaching of bishop Mellitus. Then king Æthelberht ordered a church to be built in London and to be consecrated to the apostle St. Paul, that Mellitus and his successors might have an episcopal seat in that place. He consecrated Justus as bishop at Rochester in Kent itself. This town is four-and-twenty miles to the west of Canterbury. In it also king Æthelberht ordered a church to be built and consecrated to the apostle St. Andrew. And to each of these bishops the king gave gifts, bocland and possessions for the use of themselves and their clergy. After this the well-beloved father Augustine died: and his body was buried outside close to the church of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, which we mentioned before; because it was not yet fully completed nor

heo gehalgad wæs, þa dyde mon his lichoman in; 7 in þære cirican norðportice wæs bebyrged gedæftlice. In þæm eac swilce ealra þara æfterfylgendra ærcebiscopa lichoman sindon bebyrgede, buton twegra, þæt is Þeodoris 7 Berhtwaldes; heora lichoman syndon in þære circan seolfre gesette, forðon in þone forecwedenan portic má ne meahte. Is wel neah in middre þære miclan cirican wigbed geseted 7 þæt on Sce Gregorius naman gehalgod. In ðæm æghwylce Sæternes dæge from þære stowe mæssepreost heora gemynde 7 forðfore mid mæssesonge mærsode syndon. Is awriten in Sce Agustinus byrgenne þisses gemetes gewrit: Her resteð domne Agustinus se æresta ærcebiscop Contwarena burge, se geara hider from þæm eadigan Gregoriæ þære Romaniscan burge biscope sended
p. 505. wæs, 7 from Gode mid wundra weorcnesse awreðed wæs. Æðelberht cyning 7 his þeode from deofulgilda ongonge to Cristes geleafan he gelæde, 7 on sibbe gefylldum dagum his þegnunge forðfered wæs, ðy dæge septima Kalendas Iunias in þæs ylcan cyninges rice.

IIII.

Cap. 4. Æfter Agustini fyligde in biscophade Laurentius, þone he forðon bi him lifigendum gehalgode, þy læs him forðferendum se steall swa neowre cirican ænige hwile buton heorde taltrigan ongunne. Onhyrede he on þon þa bysene þæs ærestan heordes Godes cirican Sce Petres þæs apostoles, þa he æt Rome ærest Cristes cirican staðolode: is sægd þæt he Clementem him to fultome godcundre lare 7 him to æfterfylgende gehalgade. Þa he ða Laurentius ærcebiscophade onfeng, ða ongon fromlice þa staðolas þære cyrican, þe he eaðelice alegde geseah, ecan; 7 to forðspownisse gedefre heannisse mid gelomlicre stefne haligre trymnisse 7 lare 7 mid singalum bysenum arfæstre wyrcnesse he ongon hean 7 miclian. Nales þæt an þæt he gemæne dyde þære neowan cirican, þe of Ongolcynne gesomnod wæs, ac swilce eac þara ealdra biggengena Bretta 7 Scotta. Forðon he ongeat þæt heo on monegum þingum Godes cirican ungeþwærodon, ond ealra swiðust þæt heo þa symbelnesse

l. 6. *midre* T. *middre* O. Ca. *middan* B. l. 8. *preoste* O. Ca. B. *preost* T. l. 22. *godcundre* O. Ca. B. *-de* T. l. 25. *to* O. Ca. B.: not in T. l. 31. *circan* T. *cirican* B. *cyricean* Ca. *cyricū* O.

consecrated. As soon as it was consecrated, they placed his body in it; and he was, with due honour, buried in the northern transept of the church. In this are also buried the bodies of all succeeding archbishops, except two, namely Theodore and Beorhtwald; their bodies are placed in the church itself, for there was no more room in the aforesaid transept. Almost in the centre of the great church an altar has been set up and consecrated in the name of St. Gregory. At that mass is celebrated every Saturday, and their memory and their death are set forth by the priest of that place. On the tomb of St. Augustine there is an inscription to this effect: 'Here rests the reverend the first archbishop of Canterbury, Augustine, who long ago was sent here by the blessed Gregory, bishop of the city of Rome, and was supported by God with the working of miracles. He led king Æthelberht and his people from the worship of idols to the faith of Christ; and having fulfilled the days of his service in peace, he departed this life on the 26th of May, during the reign of this king.'

IV.

Laurentius succeeded Augustine as bishop, whom he had consecrated in his own lifetime, lest on his death the position of a church so new should be unsettled for a time if without a pastor. In this he imitated the example of the apostle St. Peter, the first pastor of God's church, when he first established Christ's church at Rome: it is said that he consecrated Clement to assist him in teaching the word of God and to be his successor. Now when Laurentius succeeded to the archbishopric, he began zealously to enlarge the foundations of the church, which he saw nobly laid; and he began to raise and increase it, that it might attain to due height, by frequent repetition of holy exhortation and instruction and by continual examples of pious deeds. And he not only cared for the new church, which was gathered together out of the English race, but also for the old inhabitants, the Britons and Scots. For he saw that in many things they were at variance with the churches of God, and above all that they did not celebrate the feast of

Eastrana 7 þone dæg þære drihtenlecan æriste ne weorðodon mid rihtre tide. Wrat he 7 sende ærendgewrit to him: bæd heo 7 halsade, þæt heo in annesse sibbe 7 in gehælde rihtra Eastrana geþwærede mid þa Cristes cirican, seo geond ealne middangeard togoten is. Ac þeah þe he þas þing dyde, hu swiðe him speow, nu gen þas ondweardan tide, †þa ilcan þeowas cyðað.

Ðissum tidum cwom Mellitus Lundenceastre biscop to Rôme bi þæm nedþearflicum intingan, Ongolcirican. Ond he ða wæs smeagende mid þone apostolican papan Bonefatio, se wæs feorða biscop þære Romaniscan burge from Sēi Gregorii. Ond he ða ðes ilca pápa seonoð gesomnode Eotolwara biscopa; 7 he wæs endebyrdlice settende bi muneca life 7 bi heora stilnesse. Wæs þes seonoð þy eahteðan geare Uocatis rices þæs caseres. 7 Mellitus betweoh hy æt *þæm* seonoðe sæt; 7 þa ðing, þe ðær regollico gedemed wæron, mid his aldorlicnesse mid Cristes rode tacne wrat 7 fæstnode; ond eft hwearf to Breotone, 7 þa mid hine Ongolciricum to healdanne awriten brohte ætgædre mid þæm ærendgewritum, þe se ilca papa Gode þam leofan ærcebiscope Laurentie 7 eallum his geferu*m* 7 Æðelberhte cyninge 7 ealre Ongolþeode sende, to frofre 7 to trymnisse rihtes lifes.

V.

p. 506. Cap. 5. Þa wæs ymb syx hund wintra 7 syxteno winter from Drihtnes menniscnesse, þæt wæs ymb an 7 twentig wintra, þæs Agustinus mid his geferu*m* to læranne Ongolþeode sended wæs, þætte Æðelberht Contwara cyning æfte*r* þæm willendlecan rice, þæt he syx 7 fiftig wintra wuldorlice hæfde, ond þa to þam heofonlican rice mid gefean astag. Wæs he se ðridda cyning in Ongolþeode cyningum þæt allum suðmægþum weold 7 rice hæfde oð Humbre stream. Hæfde ærest þisses gemetes rice Ælle Suðseaxna cyning. Se æftera wæs Ceawlin haten Westseaxna cyning. Se þridda wæs, swa we ær cwædon, Æðelbehrt Contwara cyning. Feorða wæs Rædwold Eastengla cyning: fifta Eadwine Norðanhymbra cyning, se hæfde rice ofer ealle Breotone buton Contwarum anum. Swelce he

l. 6. *þa ilcan þeowas* T. O. Ca. B. (last three with spelling *þea-*). It is perhaps a gloss on preceding words *þas o. t.* (= praesentia tempora). l. 25. *ond* all MSS before *þa* (the pleonastic *ond*).

Easter and the day of the Lord's resurrection at the right time. He wrote and sent a letter to them, praying and entreating, that they would agree with the church of Christ, which is spread throughout the world, in the unity of peace and observance of the right Easter. And though he did so, the present times and the same usages prove, how little he succeeded. At this time Mellitus, bishop of London, visited Rome to determine certain points necessary for the English church. And he took counsel with the apostolic pope Boniface, who was the fourth bishop of Rome from St. Gregory. At that time this pope assembled a synod of Italian bishops, and was about to make orderly arrangements for the life and retirement of monks. This synod took place in the eighth year of the reign of the emperor Phocas. And Mellitus sat among them at the synod, and with his authority signed with the cross of Christ and confirmed, what was there determined to be in accord with monastic rule; and he returned again to Britain and brought these rules in writing with him, to be observed by the English churches, along with the letters, which the pope sent to archbishop Laurentius, well-beloved of God, and to all his clergy and to king Æthelberht and the whole people of England, for their comfort and encouragement in a righteous life.

V.

Then about six hundred and sixteen years after the incarnation of our Lord, that was about twenty-one years after Augustine and his companions were sent to teach the people of England, Æthelberht, king of Kent, after gloriously ruling the temporal kingdom for fifty-six years, now ascended with joy to the kingdom of heaven. He was the third among the kings of England who ruled over all the southern provinces and held sway as far as the river Humber. Ælle, king of the South Saxons, was the first who had authority of this kind. The second was a king of the West Saxons called Ceawlin. The third was, as we have already said, Æthelberht, king of Kent. The fourth was Rædwald, king of the East Angles. The fifth was Eadwine, king of Northumbria, who had authority over all Britain, Kent alone excepted. He also brought under the

eac Monige Bretta ealond, þa seondon geseted betweoh Ibernia, Scotlond 7 Breotone, Ongolcynnes rice underþeodde. Syxta wæs Oswald, Norðanhymbra cyning se betsta 7 se cristenesta, se þissum ilcum gemærum rice hæfde. Seofoða wæs Osweo his broðor, se eac swylce Peohta þeode 7 Scotta of miclum dæle geeode, 7 to gafolgyldum gesette. Þa forðferde Æðelberht cyning æfter an 7 twentegum wintra þæs þe he fulwihte 7 Cristes geleafan onfeng, ond in cirican þara eadigra apostola Petrus 7 Paulus in Sc̄e Martinus portice bebyrged wæs; 7 þær eac Beorhte seo cwén bebyrged is.

Se cyning betweoh þa oðer god, þe he his leodum þurh geþeaht gefremede, eac swylce rihtra doma gesetenisse mid snotera geþeahte gesette æfter Romana bysene, 7 þa heht on Englisc gewritan: þa nu gena oð þis mid him hæfde 7 haldne syndon. In þæm he ærest sette hu mon þæt bétan scolde, se ðe oðþe cirican eahte oðþe biscopes oðþe oðerra hada mid stale afyrde. Wolde he ðam gescyldnesse gegearwian, þe he heora lare onfeng. Wæs þes ilca Æðelbehrt Eormanrices sunu; þæs fæder wæs Octa haten; þæs fæder wæs Oeric; wæs his freonama Æsc, from þæm syðþan Contwara cyningas wæron Æscingas nemnde. Þæs Æsces fæder wæs se Hengest, se ðe wæs ærest latteow 7 heretoga Ongolcynnes in Breotone, swa we ær beforan sægdon.

Þa wæs æfter Æðelbehrtes forðfore, Eadbald his sunu feng to ðam rice, ond he sona micle wonunge 7 æwerdlan wæs þære mærwan cyrican weaxnisse. Forðon nales þæt aan þæt he Cristes geleafan onfon ne wolde, ac swylce eac unalyfedre forlegenesse 7 egeslicre wæs besmiten, swa þæt he eode to his fæder wife. For æghwæðrum þissa mana he intingan sealde þæm, þæt heo hwurfe to þære ærran unclænnisse, þa ðe under his fæder
p. 507. rice oðþe mid þy cynelecan fultome oððe *his ege clænnisse reht 7 Cristes geleafon onfengon. Ne þæm treowleasan cyninge þære uplecan þrea sweopon gewon wæron, þæt he þurh þa geclænsed 7 gereht beon sceolde; forðon he gelomlice mid wedenheortnesse modes 7 þæs unclænan gastes inswogennisse þrycced wæs.

l. 3. *cristenessa* T. *-esta* O. Ca. B. l. 5. *to* O. Ca. B.: not in T. l. 9. *eac* O. Ca. B. *ea* T. l. 29. *his oðde ege clænnisse* T. O. (*-esse*). *his eges clænnesse* Ca. *his oð þá clænnessa* B. l. 30. O. Ca. read *onfengen frā his sylfes,*

authority of the English Man, islands of the Britons lying between Ireland, Scotland and Britain. The sixth who had authority within these limits was Oswald, the best and most christian king of Northumbria. The seventh was his brother Oswio, who also overran in great part the land of the Picts and the Scots, and made them tributary. Then king Æthelberht died, twenty-one years after receiving baptism and the christian faith, and was buried in the church of the blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul in St. Martin's chapel; and queen Bertha is also buried there. Among other blessings which the king by wise deliberation conferred on his people, he also drew up after the Roman model with the advice of experienced men, codes of just decisions, and ordered them to be written in English; and these are still preserved and observed among them up to the present. In these, he first set down what reparation is to be made by the man, who steals church property or the property of a bishop and other ecclesiastical orders. He wished to provide protection for those, from whom he received instruction.

This Æthelberht was the son of Eormanric; whose father was called Octa; whose father was Œric and surnamed Æsc, from whom the kings of Kent afterwards were called Æscings. The father of this Æsc was that Hengest, who was first leader and general of the English in Britain, as we have already related. Then after Æthelberht's death his son Eadbald succeeded to the throne, and he soon was cause of great loss and injury to the growth of the tender church; because he not only refused to receive Christ's faith, but also was polluted with unlawful and fearful fornication, so that he went in to his father's wife. By both of these sins he gave occasion to those to return to their former impurity, who in his father's reign, either by the royal support or out of fear of him, received the laws of purity and faith in Christ. Nor yet were there wanting to the faithless king scourgings of the heavenly discipline, that he might thereby be cleansed and reformed; for he often was afflicted with insanity and with attacks of the unclean spirit. The death of Sæberht, king of

omitting the rest of this chapter and most of the next. The omitted part is found in T. B. C. (*frā his sylfes=from his seolfes* p. 118, l. 16). l. 31. *geclænsedan* T. *geclænsad* 7 B. *geclænsað* 7 C.

Swelce eac tœtecte þisse gedrefnisse storm Sæberhtes deað Eastseaxna cyninges. Forðon þa he wæs þa ecan riceo secende, forlet he þæs hwilenlecan rices yrfeweardas his suna ðry. Þa ongunnon heo sona openlice deofolgildum þeowian, þe monnum þuhte þæt heo hwæthwugu forlæten hæfde bi þæm fæder lifiendum; ond heo freo lefnesse sealdon deofolgyld to bigongenne þam folcum, þe him underþeodde wæron. Mid þy heo þa gesegon þone biscop mæssan onsymbelnesse mærsian in Godes cirican 7 þæm folce husl syllan, wæron heo mid elreorde dysignesse onblawne. Cwædon to him: Forhwon ne reċst þu us þone hwitan hlaf, þone þu sealdest Saban ussum fæder-nemdon heo hine swa—7 nu gena folce in cirican sylest? Ondswarede se biscop him: Gif ge willað onþwegene beon ðy halwendan wellan fulwihtes bæðes, swa eower fæder aðwegen wæs, þonne magon ge eac swylce þæs halgan hlafes dælneomende beon, swa he dælneomende wæs. Gif þonne ge lifes bæð forhycgað, ne magon ge ænige þinga lifes hlafe onfon. Cwædon heo: Ne willað we in þæt bæð gongan, forðon we weotan þæt we þæs þearfe nabbað; ac hwæðre we willað mid þy hlafe gereorde beon. Mid þy heo oft 7 geornlice from him monode wæron, þæt þæt nænige þinga beon meahte, þæt hy buton þære halgan geclæsnunge fulwihtes bæðes þæm halgan hlafe gemænsumede, þa æt neahstan wæron heo mid hatheortnesse onstyrede. Cwædon him to: Gif þu ne wilt us geðafian in swa æðelicum þinge, þe we biddað, ne meaht þu in usse mægðe ne ussum gemánan wunian. 7 dreofon hine onweg, 7 heton þæt he mid his geferum of heora rice gewite. Þa he onweg adrifen wæs, cwom he to Cent, sohte 7 smeade mid Laurentio 7 Iusto his efnbiscopum, hwæt him be ðyssum þingum to donne wære. Ond þa to ræde fundon mid gemænre geþeahte, þæt him selre 7 gehæledre wære, þæt heo ealle hwurfon to heora eðle 7 þær mid freo mode Drihtne þeowede, þonne heo betweoh þa elreordan 7 þa wiðfeohtend Cristes geleafan leng buton wæstme sæton. Ða geweoton ærest ofer sæ twegen biscopas Mellitus 7 Iustus 7 cwomon in on dælas Gallia rices, 7 gestihtedon þæt heo þær wolden þære wisan ende gebidan. Ac þa arleasan cyningas nales micelre

l. 13. *ðy* C. B. *þa* T. (=*þam* or *mid ða*?). l. 16. *ge* (*g* out of *æ*?) T. *ge* B.: not in C.

the East Saxons, also increased the tempest of this confusion. For when he was departing to the eternal kingdom, he left his three sons as heirs of his temporal kingdom. At once they began openly to serve idols, which men supposed that they had, in their father's lifetime, to some extent given up; and they gave free permission to the people, who were subject to them, to worship idols. When they saw the bishop perform the celebration of the mass in God's church and give the sacrament to the people, they were puffed up with barbarian folly. They said to him, 'Why do you not present to us the white bread, which you gave to our father Saba—so they named him—and still give to the people in church?' The bishop answered them: 'If ye will be washed with the saving fount of baptism, as your father was, then you may also be partakers of that holy bread, as he was; but if you despise the laver of life, you may not in any wise receive the bread of life.' They said: 'We will not enter that laver, for we know we need it not; but yet we will be fed with that bread.' When they were often earnestly admonished by him, that this in no wise might be, that they should partake of the holy bread without the holy cleansing of baptism, then at last they were roused to fury. They said to him: 'If you will not assent to us in a matter so easy, which we request, you may not remain in our province or in our society.' And they drove him away, and ordered him to depart with his companions from their kingdom. When he was driven away, he came to Kent, and went and took counsel with Laurentius and Justus his fellow bishops, as to what he must do under these circumstances. And after joint deliberation they settled, that it was their better and safer course for all to return to their own homes and serve God there with a free spirit, than to remain any longer fruitlessly among the barbarians and adversaries of Christ's faith. Then first the two bishops, Mellitus and Justus, crossed the sea and came into the districts of the kingdom of Gaul, and resolved that they there would await the end of this business. But the impious kings, soon

tide, æfter þon þe heo þone soðfæstnisse bodan from him adrifon, þæt heo deofla bigængum freolice þeowedon. Ac heo wæran cumene wið Westseaxna þeode to gefeohte, 7 ealle ætgædre gehruron 7 ofslegene wæron mid heora compweorode. Ond þeah ðe heora alderas forlorene wæren, ne meahte þæt folc þa gen gerealht beon, þætte ær to mánum getogen wæs, ne eft geceed beon to hluttornisse geleafan ne to Godes lufan.

VI.

p. 508. Cap. 6. Mid ðy he ða Laurentius se ærcebiscop þa oðre biscopas his geferan fylgan wolde 7 Breotone forlætan, ða heht he in þære seolfan nihte, þa he on morne feran wolde, in cirican þara eadigra apostola Petrus 7 Paulus, bi þære we gelomlice sægdon, him streowne gegearwian, þæt he hine gerestan meahte. Ond þa ærest longe nihtes in halgum gebedum wæs, 7 his tearas geat, 7 his bene to Gode sende for þære cirican stealle; 7 geswenced 7 werig gesette þa his leomu to restenne 7 hwæthwugo onslepte. Ða æteawde him sona se ealdgesta aldor þara apostola Scs Petrus, 7 hine micelre tide þære deahlan neahte mid grimmum swingum swong 7 þreade: ond hine wæs frignende mid þa apostolican þearlwisnesse, forhwon he þæt Godes eowde forlætan wolde, þætte he him bead to healdanne, oðþe þa gesettan Cristes scep in middum wulfum hwylcum heorde he fleonde forlete. Cwæð him eac to: Wære þu ofergeotende minre bysne, hwæt ic fore Cristes cneohtum, þa he me in tacnunge his lufan bebead, bende 7 swingan 7 carcern 7 monige geswencednesse,—7 æt neahstan þone seolfan deað 7 rode deað from ungeleafsumum 7 Cristes feondum ic þrowade 7 aræfnde, þæt ic mid Criste gesigefæsted wære? Þa wæs he se Cristes þeow Laurentius mid þæs apostoles swingum 7 trymnessum swiðe gebylded; cwom sona on marne to þam cyninge, 7 his hrægl onwrag 7 him eawde, mid hu miclum swingum he þread 7 witnod wæs. Þa wundrade he swiðe, 7 ahsode hwylc mon to ðæs gedyrstig wære, þæt he swa miclum were swilc witu dyde. Þa he ða se cyning gehyrde 7 oncneow, þætte he se biscop fore his hælo intingan from Cristes

l. 6. *getogen* B. C. *gegoten* T. l. 9. *forlætan* B. *forlæan* (not *-lætin*) T. *þ hi hine ne forleton* (om. 7 *breotone*) C.

after they had driven away from them the preacher of the truth, gave themselves up without restraint to the worship of devils. And they marched to battle against the West Saxons, and all fell together and were slain with their army. And though they had lost their princes, yet the people, who had previously been seduced to sin, could not yet be reformed, nor called back to the purity of faith and love of God.

VI.

When archbishop Laurentius was about to follow the other bishops his companions and leave Britain, intending to start on the morrow, he ordered on that very night his bed to be prepared, that he might repose, in the church of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, which we have often mentioned. And then first during the night he continued long in holy prayers, and shed tears and offered up his petitions to God for the state of the church; and being fatigued and weary he laid his limbs to rest and fell asleep for a little. Then presently there appeared to him the most blessed prince of the apostles, St. Peter, and for a long time, in the secrecy of the night, scourged and chastised him severely. And he asked him with apostolical severity, why he was about to leave the flock of God, which he had entrusted to him to keep, and to what pastor he left Christ's sheep, who were set in the midst of wolves, now that he was fleeing. He further said to him: 'Did you forget my example, what I suffered and endured for Christ's little ones, whom he committed to me in token of his love, that is, bonds, scourging, imprisonment and manifold afflictions, and finally death itself, and death on the cross at the hands of unbelievers and enemies of Christ, that I with Christ might be crowned with triumph?' Then Laurentius the servant of Christ was much encouraged by the chastisement and exhortations of the apostle; at once in the morning he came to the king, and opening his robe showed him, with what a scourging he was chastised and punished. Then the king wondered much, and asked who was so audacious as to inflict such punishment on so great a man. And when he heard and understood, that the bishop endured such torture and punish-

apostole swa micele tintregu 7 wítu þrowade, þa wæs he swiðe forht geworden, 7 him swiðe ondred ond sona towearp al þa bigong þara deofolgelda, þa he ær beeode, 7 forlet þa unrihtwifunge 7 Cristes geleafan onfeng; ond se biscop hine gefulwade. 7 sona in eallum þingum þære cirican eahtum 7 godum freoðode 7 fultemede, swa he fyrmest meahte. Ond he swelce eac sende ærendwrecan in Gallia rice, 7 heht ham laþian þa biscopas Mellitum 7 Iustum; 7 he het freolice to heora biscopscire ham hweorfan. 7 heo ymb an ger ham hwurfon ðæs þe heo ær of Breotone ferdon. Iustus hwearf to Hrofesceastre, þær he ær biscop wæs. Mellitum þone biscop Lundenwaran onfón ne woldon, ac ma lufodon þæt heo þeowedan heora deofolgelda biscopum. Ond heo Eadbaldes þæs cyninges worda ne gemdon, forðon his rice ne wæs ofer heo, swa swa his fæder hæfde. Hwæðre he mid his þeode mid Contwarum, seoðþan he to Drihtne gecerred wæs, þæm godcundan bebodum þeowode 7 hearsumede. Þæs gen to tácne is, þæt he het in Scē Petres mynstre cirican getimbran in áre þære eadigan fæmnan Scā Marian, ða eft Mellitus on hyre noman gehalgode, þa he wæs ærcebiscop.

VII.[1]

p. 509. Cap. 7. In ðisses cyninges rice se eadiga ærcebiscop Scs Laurentius forðferde, 7 þæt heofonlice rice gestáh; 7 in circan 7 in mynstre þæs eadigan apostoles Scē Petres bii his foregengan Scē Agustine bebyrged wæs þy feorðan dæge nonarum Februarium. Æfter þæm Mellitus, se wæs ær Lundenceastre biscop, feng to þam biscopseðle Contwara burge cirican ðridda biscop from Scē Agustine. Wæs Iustus se biscop þa gen lifigende 7 reahte þa gesomnunge æt Hrofesceastre. Ond heo begen mid micle gemænne 7 gewinne Ongolcircean heoldon 7 reahton. Wæs he Mellitus mid lichoman untrymnesse mid fotadle swiðe gehefigad; ac hwæðre halgum gongum his modes he glædlice all eorðlic þing wæs oferhleapende, ond symle mid his mode wæs fiegende þa heofonlecan to lufienne 7 to biddenne 7 to secenne. Wæs he lichomlicre gebyrde æðeles cynnes, ac mid modes heanisse micle æðelra.

[1] XII (apparently original) T.

ment at the hands of Christ's apostle for the sake of his salvation, he was seized with great fear, and being in great alarm at once utterly rejected the worship of the idols, which he had followed before, gave up his unlawful wedlock, and received the faith of Christ; and the bishop baptized him. And at once in all things he protected and defended the property and goods of the church, as far as he might. And he also sent messengers to the kingdom of Gaul, and bade them invite home the bishops Mellitus and Justus; and he bade them return home freely to their bishoprics. And they returned home a year after their departure from Britain. Justus returned to Rochester, where he was bishop before. The Londoners would not receive bishop Mellitus, but preferred being under the bishops of their idols. And they disregarded the words of king Eadbald, for he had not authority over them, such as his father held. However he and his people of Kent, after his conversion to the Lord, obeyed and submitted to the divine ordinances. The proof is this, that he ordered a church to be erected in the monastery of St. Peter in honour of the blessed lady St. Mary, which Mellitus afterwards consecrated in her name, when he was archbishop.

VII.

In this king's reign the blessed archbishop St. Laurentius departed and ascended to the kingdom of heaven, and was buried in the church and monastery of the blessed apostle St. Peter beside his predecessor St. Augustine on the 2nd of February. After him Mellitus, who was formerly bishop of London, succeeded to the see of the church of Canterbury, being the third after St. Augustine. Bishop Justus was still alive, and directed the church at Rochester. And they both governed and ruled the church of England with great care and labour. Mellitus suffered severely from bodily infirmity with gout; but still, in the holy courses of his mind, he surmounted with alacrity all earthly obstacles, and ever in his mind he was in haste to love, to desire and to seek the things of heaven. He was of noble descent by his carnal birth, but much nobler by the elevation of his mind. We shall

Sculon we áne cyðnesse his mægenes secgan, þæt we his oðer mægen þy eað ongytan magon. Gelomp sumre tide, þæt seo ceaster Contwara burge þurh ungemænne synna wearð fyre onbærned. 7 þæt fýr 7 þæt leg swiðe weox 7 miclade, 7 him nænig mon mid wætra onweorpnesse wiðstondan meahte; 7 micel dæl þære ceastre wæs fornumen. Ða for se wallenda lég 7 hine brædde to þam biscope, þa getreowde he in godcundne fultom, þær se mennesca wan wæs; heht his þegnas hine selfne beran ongean þæm fyre 7 asettan, þær se lég 7 seo frecnis mæst wæs; ond untrum ongon þurh his gebed þa frecenisse þæs fyres onweg adrifan, þætte ær seo trume hond strongra monna þurh micel gewin don ne mealte. 7 se wind sona, se ðe ær suðan bleow 7 þa bærnnisse in þa burg strægd, hine norðan awearp ond þa bærnnisse ut ofbegde; 7 sona eallinga þurh his gebed þæt fyr acwán 7 adwæsced wæs. Ond forðon þe se Godes wer stronglice innon born mid þy fyre godcundre lufan, 7 oft stormas 7 hreonisse þara werigra gasta from his seolfes sceðenisse 7 his geferena mid his gelomelicum gebedum 7 trymenissum scilde 7 wiðsceaf, wæs þæt þæs wyrðe, þæt he wið þam middangeardlicum windum 7 légum swiðan meahte, þy læs heo him 7 his freondum sceðeden. Onu þes halga biscop, æfter þon þe he fif winter þa cirican heold 7 reahte, in Eadbaldes rice leorde to heofonum, 7 bebyrged wæs mid his fædrum in þæm oft cwedenan mynstre 7 cirican Sce Petres þy eahteðan dæge Calendarum Maiarum.

p. 510. Cap. 8. Þæm sona æfterfylgde Iustus in biscophade, se wæs æt Hrofescestre ær biscop. 7 he ðære cirican for hine oðerne biscop gehalgode, Romanus wæs haten, forðon he aldorlicnisse onfeng from Bonefatio þam papan, þæt he biscopas hadian moste.

VIII.[1]

Cap. 9. Þære tide eac swylce Norðanhymbra þeod mid heora cyninge Eadwine Cristes geleafan onfeng, þe him Paulinus bodade se halga biscop 7 lærde. Þæm cyninge *þære *onfongennisse Cristes

l. 9. *untrum* C. B. (*ún-*). *trumion* T. l. 11. *hond* C. B. 7 T. *meahte* C. *mihte* B. *meahton* T. l. 16. *oft* C. B. *eft* T. O. Ca. continue *onfengon frā his sylfes.* l. 23. *arium* T. [1] VIII Ca. XIII (beyond, in late hand, IX)

give one proof of his miraculous power, that we may the more readily comprehend his other miracles. It happened once, that the town of Canterbury was set on fire by sinful carelessness. And the fire and flame grew and increased much, and no resistance could be offered to it by pouring on water; and a great part of the town was destroyed. When the raging flames advanced and extended to the bishop, he trusting in the divine help, as human aid failed, directed his attendants to carry him towards the fire and set him down, where the flame and danger were greatest; and though infirm he began by his prayers to repel the danger from fire which previously the firm hand of strong men with great labour could not do. And at once the wind, which previously blew from the south and spread the conflagration into the city, turned round north and diverted the fire outwards; and soon by his prayers the flames completely died down and were extinguished. And as the man of God burnt strongly within with the fire of divine love, and often kept away and repelled the storms and tempests of evil spirits from injury to himself and his companions by repeated prayers and exhortations, so was it now fit, that he should prevail against earthly winds and flames, so that they should not injure himself and his friends. And now this holy bishop, after governing and directing the church for five years, during the reign of Eadbald departed to heaven, and was buried with his fathers in the oft-named monastery and church of St. Peter on the 24th of April. He was immediately succeeded in the bishopric by Justus, who was previously bishop at Rochester. He consecrated in his place another bishop for that church, called Romanus, as he had received authority from pope Boniface to ordain bishops.

VIII.

At this time also the people of Northumbria with their king Eadwine received the faith of Christ, which the holy bishop Paulinus preached and taught them. As an omen for the king

T. l. 31. MSS. all read *seo onfongennis* (*fengnes* O. Ca. *fængennes* B.). B. alone *mihta* for *meaht*.

geleafan 7 þæs heofonlecan rices eac swelce on healsunge, geweox mealt eorðlices rices, swa [þæt], þætte nænig Ongolcynna ær him, eall Breotono gemæro on anweald onfeng, ða ðe oððe heora męgþe Ongolcynnes oðþe Bretta eardodon: all þæt he on anwald onfeng; ge eac Monige swelce Bretta ealond Ongolcynnes rice underþeodde, swa we ær beforan sægdon.

Disse þeode, þæt is Norðanhymbrum, wæs se æresta intinga to onfonne Cristes geleafan, þætte se foresprecena heora cyning Edwini wæs mid mægsibbe geþeoded Contwara cyningum; onfeng he þonan wiife Æþelbeorge, Æðelberhtes dohtor þæs cyninges, seo oðre noman wæs Táte haten. Þa he ærest his ærendwrecan sende to Eadbolde hire breðer, se wæs þa Contwara cyning, 7 þisse fæmnan gemánan bæd 7 wilnade, ondswarede he þæt þæt alyfed nære, þætte cristeno fæmne hæðnan men to wiife seald wære, þy læs se geleafa 7 þa geryno þæs heofonlecan cyninges mid þæs cyninges gemánan aidlad wære, se ðe þæs soðan cyninges bigong ne cuðe. Þa ða ærendwrecan eft Eadwine sægdon þas word, þa gehet he sona þæt he noht wiðerweardes don wolde þæm cristenan geleafan, þe seo fæmne beeode, ac þæt heo moste þone geleafan 7 bigong hire æfestnisse mid eallum hire geferum, þe heo mid cwomen, þy cristnan þeawe lifian 7 þone wel healdan. Ne he ne wiðsóc þæt he seolfa eac þa ilcan æfestnisse underfenge, gif wise witan þæt funde þæt heo haligra gemeted beon mealte. Þa wæs seo fæmne gehaten, 7 æfter fæce Eadwine onsénded. Ond æfter þon þe heo ær funden hæfdon, wæs gehalgod to biscope Gode se leofa wer Scs Paulinus, se mid heo feran scolde, to ðon þæt he þa fæmnan 7 hire geferan æghwæðer ge mid þa mærsunge heofonlicra geryna ge mid his dæghwamlicre lare trymede, þæt heo in þam gemanan þara hæðenra besmiten ne wære.

Wæs he Paulinus to biscope gehalgod from Iusto þam ærcebiscope þy twelftan dæge Calendarum Augustarum. Ða cwom he mid þa
p. 511. foresprecenan fæmnan to Eadwini þæm cyninge, swa swa he wære gesið licumlicre gegaderunge; ac he ma mid ealle his mode beheold, þæt he þa þeode, þe he gesohte, to ongytenisse þæs soðan Godes 7 to Cristes geleafan þurh his lare gecegde. Mid þy he ða

l. 2. [*þæt*] not in MSS. l. 16. *aidlad* Ca. O. (*á-*). *adilgod* B. C. *andlád* T.

of his reception of Christ's faith and also of the heavenly kingdom, the power of his earthly kingdom had increased, so that, what none of the English had done before him, he got into his power the whole extent of Britain—all that tribes either of English or of British race occupied, he got into his power. He also subjected to the authority of the English Man, the islands of the Britons, as we mentioned before. The first motive for the acceptance of Christ's faith by this people, that is the Northumbrians, was that their aforesaid king Eadwine was connected by affinity with the kings of Kent; from this family he received as wife Æthelburh, daughter of king Æthelberht, who was also called Tate. When he first sent his envoys to her brother Eadbald, who was then king of Kent, and begged and desired the hand of this lady, Eadbald replied that it was unlawful to give a Christian woman as wife to a heathen, lest the faith and sacraments of the heavenly King should be profaned by association with this king, who knew not the worship of the true King. When the envoys reported these words to Eadwine, he promised at once to do nothing adverse to the christian faith, which the lady held, saying that she might live according to christian usage in the faith and exercise of her religion and keep it fully, with all the companions she brought with her. Nor did he refuse even to take up that religion himself, if wise councillors on examination found that it was holier. Then the lady was promised, and after a time sent to Eadwine. And as they had already arranged, St. Paulinus, a man beloved of God, was consecrated bishop, who should proceed with her, that he might confirm the lady and her companions by celebration of the holy sacraments and by his daily instruction, so that she should not be defiled in the society of the heathen. Paulinus was consecrated bishop by archbishop Justus on the 21st July. Then he came with the aforesaid lady to king Eadwine, as if he were an attendant at carnal wedlock; but with all his mind he strove to call by his teaching the people, whom he visited, to a knowledge of the true God and to Christ's faith. Now whenthe bishop came with the

se biscop in þa mægðe cwom mid þære fæmnan, þa wonn he swiðe, þæt he æghwæðer ge his feran, þa ðe mid him cwomon, þurh Drihtnes gife geheolde þæt heo ne asprunge from heora geleafan, 7 gif he hwylce meahte þara hæðenra, þæt he þurh his lare to Cristes geleafan gecerde. Ac swa se apostol cwæð, þeah ðe he micelre tide wunne in his lare, þætte God þa mood þara ungeleafsumra áblænde, þy læs him scine seo onlihtnes Cristes godspelles 7 his wuldres.

Ða wæs þy æfteran geare, cwom sum monn in Norðanhymbra mægðe; wæs his noma Eomær. Wæs he sended from Westseaxna cyninge, se wæs haten Cwichelm, þæt he scolde Eadwine þone cyning somed ge rice ge lif beneoman. Hæfde he 7 wæg mid hine twiecge handseax geættred, þæt gif seo wund to lyt genihtsumode to þæs cyninges deaðe, þæt þæt attor gefultmade. Cwom he to þam cyninge þy ærestan Eastordæge bii Deorwentan þære ea, þær wæs þa cyninges aldorbold. Þa eode he inn, swa swa he his hlaforde s ærendo secgan scolde. Ond mid þy he þa geswippre muþe licetende ærend wreahte 7 lease fleosewade, þa astod he semninga, 7 getogene þy wæpne under his sceate, ræsde on þone cyning. Þa þæt þa Lilla geseah, se cyninges þegn him se holdesta, næfde he scyld æt honda, þæt he þone cyning mid scyldan meahte: sette þa his lichoman betweoh beforan þam stynge. 7 þurhstong þone cyninges þegn 7 þone cyning gewundade. Þa wæs sona æghwonan mid wæpnum ymbheped. Hwæt þa gena oðerne cyninges þegn in þæm ungerecce, se wæs Forðhere haten, mid þy manfullan wæpne acwealde.

Þa wæs þære ilcan nealhte þære halgan Eastrena, cende seo cwen dohtor þæm cyninge, þære noma wæs Eanflæd. Mid þy þe he ða se ilca cyning in þæs biscopes ondweardnesse þoncunge dyde his Godum for þære deahter, þe him acenned wæs, ongegn þon ongon se biscop þoncunge don Drihtne Criste ond þam cyninge cyþan, þæt he þæt mid his benum æt him onfenge, þæt heo seo cwen gesund 7 buton hefigum sare þæt bearn cende. þa se cyning þis gehyrde, þa ongon he lustfullian þæs biscopes wordum, 7 geheht hine sylfne deofolgildum wiðsacan; 7 þæt he wolde Cristes ðeowdom geceosan,

l. 4. *þ* O. Ca. B. *þe* T. l. 16. *mid þy* [he] *þa geswip* [þ]*re* T. B. has *geswiperū*. O. Ca. as in text.

lady into that province, he contended earnestly that by God's grace he might keep both his companions, who came with him, from turning aside from the faith, and that he might, if possible, convert some of the heathen by his teaching to the faith of Christ. Yet, as the apostle said, though he strove long in his teaching, God blinded the minds of the unbelievers, lest the enlightenment of Christ's gospel and glory should shine upon them. Then next year there came a man to the province of Northumbria, whose name was Eomær. He was sent by the king of the West Saxons, named Cwichelm, to deprive king Eadwine of throne and life. He had and carried upon him a two-edged and poisoned dagger, that if the wound was not sufficient to cause the king's death, the poison might help. He came to the king on the first day of Easter, near the river Derwent, where at that time there was a royal residence and estate. Then he entered, as if to deliver his lord's errand. And as with crafty lips he reported his feigned errand and falsely whispered, suddenly he got up, and drawing his weapon under his garment, rushed on the king. Now when Lilla saw this, who was the most devoted of the king's attendants, having no shield at hand to defend the king, he interposed his body to meet the thrust. And Eomær thrust through the king's attendant and wounded the king. Then he was at once assailed with weapons on all sides. But still he slew with his wicked dagger yet another of the king's attendants in the tumult, who was called Forthere. Then on the very night of holy Easter, the queen bore the king a daughter, whose name was Eanflæd. And when the king in the bishop's presence gave thanks to his gods for the daughter, that was born to him, the bishop on the other hand began to give thanks to Christ the Lord, and to make known to the king, that through his prayers he received this grace from him, that the queen bore that child healthily and without severe suffering. When the king heard this, he began to rejoice at the bishop's words, and promised that he himself would renounce his idols; and said that he would choose Christ's service, if he would give him life and victory in the contest, which he contemplated against the king, who sent the

gif he him lif 7 sige forgefe on þæm gewinne, þe he gehogad hæfde wið þam cyninge, *from þæm þe se myrðra ær sended wæs, se þe hine gewundade. Ond þa ilcan his dohtor to gehalgienne Criste þam biscope to wedde gesealde, þæt he þæt gehat gelæstan wolde. Seo wæs gefulwad þy halgan dæge æt Pentecosten ærest monna of Norðanhymbra þeode, mid endleofan fæmnan oðrum of þære cwene hyrede; heo wæs twelfta.

p. 512. Þære tide eac wæs se cyning gehæled from þære wunde, þe him ær gedon wæs. Þa gesomnode he his fyrd wið Westseaxum 7 þider cwom; 7 sona þæs þe he on heo feaht, wæron him ealle his fynd gecyðede, þa þe ær ymb his feorh syredon. 7 he þa sume ofslog, sume on onweald onfeng; 7 he sigefæst swa eft ham ferde. Nales þæt sona þæt innstæpe 7 ungeþeahtenlice þæm gerynum onfón wolde þæs Cristenan geleafan, þeah þe þæt wære, þæt ofer þæt deofolgeldum ne þeowode, seoðþan he hine to Cristes þeowdome gehatenne hæfde. Ac he ærest geornlice aa of tide æghwæðer ge from þæm arwyrðan were Scē Paulini þæt riht leornade þæs halgan geleafan; ge eac mid his ealdormonnum, þa ðe he wiseste 7 snottroste wiste, þæt he gelomlice mid him þeahtode 7 sohte, hwæt be þissum þingum to donne wære. Ge eac he seolfa, mid þy þe he wæs in gecynde se gleawesta mon, oft longe ana sæt swigende muðe, ac mid inneweardre heortan monig mid hine sprecende smeade, hwæt him selest to donne wære 7 hwylce æfæstnis him to healdenne wære.

VIIII.[1]

Cap. 10. Dære tide eac swylce þæs apostolican seðles biscop Bonefatius papa sende Eadwini gretinge 7 gewrit, mid þy he hine trymede to onfonne Cristes leafan.

Cap. 12. Swylce eac wæs sum Gódgespræce 7 heofonlic onwrigenis, þe him geo seo godcunde arfæstnis onwrah, þa he wrecca wæs mid Rædwald Eastengla cyning, seo swiðe gefultumede his ondgit to onfonne 7 to ongeotonne monunge þære halwendan láre. Mid þy he

1. 2. *þe from þæm þe se myrðra ær sended wæs* T. *ðe from ðæm se* C. *frā þā se myrðra ær sended wæs* O. (but the words from *gehogad* to *myrðra* are omitted in text and written at bottom of page, their place marked with points, and two

murderer, that wounded him. And he gave his daughter also to the bishop to be consecrated to Christ, as a pledge that he would fulfil the vow. She was baptized on the holy day of Pentecost, being the first among the people of Northumbria, with eleven ladies besides belonging to the queen's household, she being the twelfth. At that time also the king was healed of the wound previously inflicted upon him. Then he assembled his army to fight the West Saxons, and advanced into their country; and as soon as he attacked them, all his enemies were denounced to him, who had plotted against his life. And he slew some, and accepted the submission of others; and so returned home in triumph. Yet he would not at once, on the spot and without consideration, receive the sacraments of the Christian faith; though the fact was, that he never served idols, from the day he vowed to be Christ's servant. But first earnestly, from time to time, he studied the truth of the holy faith under the venerable St. Paulinus; and also with his nobles, whom he knew to be wisest and most prudent, he often took counsel, and enquired of them what should be done in these matters. Besides, as he was himself naturally a man of the greatest sagacity, he often sat alone with silent lips, while in his inmost heart he argued much with himself, considering what was best to do and what religion he should hold to.

IX.

At that time also pope Boniface, bishop of the apostolic see, sent greeting to Eadwine and a letter exhorting him to receive Christ's faith. There was also a message from God and a heavenly revelation, which the divine goodness once revealed to him, when he was an exile with Redwald, king of the East Angles, which supported his mind much in receiving and comprehending the admonitions of

letters are erased before *frā*). *ðe se myrðra ær fram sended wæs* Ca. *þe þone myrðran þider sende* B. [1] VIIII Ca. XIIII (but IIII partly erased) T.

þa se biscop Paulinus geseah, þæt he uneaðelice meahte ða heannesse þæs cynelican modes to eaðmodnesse gecerran, þæt he onfon wolde his ecre hælo 7 þæm geryne þære liffæstan róde Cristes,—ond he somed for his hælo þæs cyninges 7 þære þeode, þe he fore wæs, ge mid worde trymenesse mid monnum wonn, ge eac mid ða godcundan arfæstnesse mid worde his gebeda won, þæt he foreþingode,—þa æt nyhstan geleornade he in gaste 7 him onwrigen wæs, hwelc onwrigenis giu heofonlic æteawde þæm cyninge, þa he wrecca wæs. Ne ylde he hit þa leng; ac eode sona to þam cyninge 7 hine monade þæt he his gehat gefylde, þæt he in þære onwrigenesse geheht, þe him æteawed wæs, gif he þære tiide ærmþa biswicade 7 to heannisse cynerices becwome.

p. 513. Wæs þis gódgespræce 7 þeos onwrigenis þisses gemetes. Mid þy hine ehte Æðelfrið, se ðe ær him cyning wæs, 7 þurh missenlice stowe he monigra geara tide flyma wæs, ða gesohte he æt nyhstan 7 cwom to Rædwolde Eastengla cyninge; 7 hine bæd þæt he his líf gescylde wið swa micles ehteres sætingum, 7 him feorhyrde wære. Ond he lustlice hine onfeng 7 him geheht, þæt he swa don wolde swa he hine bæd. Æfter þon þa Æþelfrið se cyning hine þær geahsode, þæt he mid Rædwold þone cyning wæs, þa sende he sona ærendwrecan to him 7 micel feoh, wið þon ðe he hine ofsloge oðþe him to cwale agefe; ne hwæðre owiht on þon fromade. Sende he eft æfteran siðe ærendwrecan; synde þriddan siðe, 7 maran gife micle 7 feoh, þonne he him ær sende, wið his cwale: ond het eac him onbeodan, þæt he hine wolde mid fyrde to gefeohte gesecan, gif he his word 7 his gife forhogode. Þa wæs his mod æghwæðer ge mid þæm beotungum gebreged ge mid þæm geofum gewemmed, þæt he geþafode þæs cyninges bene 7 gehet, þæt he Eadwine ofsloge oðþe feondum to cwale gefe. Þa wæs sum cyninges þegn his freond se getreowesta, þe ðas þing gehyrde 7 onget. Þa eode he to his inne, þær he hine restan wolde,— wæs foreweard niht—7 hine acegde út 7 him sægde 7 cyðde, hu him mon emb don wolde. Cwæð him þa gyt to: Gif ðu wilt

l. 2. *þ* O. Ca. B. *þa* T. 7 *þ*, C. l. 5. *ge* to *won* wanting in T. Text from O. Ca. has *-nyssa* and omits *won*. *gebeda won* C. *ge eac mid ðære godcundan arfæstnesse mid wordum his gebeda wann* B. l. 11. *onwrigenesse* O. Ca.

saving doctrine. When bishop Paulinus saw that he could not easily convert to humility the pride of this royal spirit, so that he would accept his eternal salvation and the mystery of Christ's quickening cross—and he at the same time, for the salvation of the king and the people he ruled, strove with men by word of exhortation, and strove with the divine goodness by word of prayer in intercession—then at last he learnt in spirit, and it was revealed to him, what heavenly revelation was formerly disclosed to the king, when an exile. He delayed no longer, but went at once to the king and admonished him to fulfil his vow, made at the time of the revelation granted to him, in case he should escape the misery of that time and be raised to the throne. This divine message and revelation was to this effect. When Æthelfrith, his predecessor, persecuted him, and he was a fugitive for many years in various places, at last he turned and came to Redwald, king of the East Angles, and begged him to protect his life against the snares of his mighty persecutor, and ensure his saiety. The king welcomed him, and promised to do as he asked. When king Æthelfrith found him out there, at the court of king Redwald, he at once sent envoys with large sums, as the price of his murder or his surrender to death. However he effected nothing by this. Again a second time he sent envoys; he sent a third time, with much richer gifts and bribes than before, as price of his death. He also bade them threaten, that he would march against Redwald with an army, if he rejected his request and his gifts. Then the king's mind was moved by the threats and corrupted by the gifts, so that he granted the king's prayer and promised to slay Eadwine or give him up to his enemies to be put to death. Now there was one of the king's followers, who was Eadwine's most faithful friend, and he heard and understood the matter. And going to the chamber, where Eadwine was about to lie down to sleep—it was early in the night—he called him out, spoke to him and told what they would do to him. He added, 'If you wish, at this moment, I will bring

-genn- B. *wrignesse* T. l. 23. second *siðe* O. Ca. *siða* T., not in B. l. 31. *hine* O. Ca. B. *inne* T.

in þas seolfan tid, ic þe alædo of þisse mægðe, 7 in þa stowe alæde, þær þe næfre Rædwald ne Æðelfrið gemetan magon. Cwæð he to him: On þonce me synd þin word 7 þin lufo, 7 hwæðre ne mæg ic þæt dón, þæt þu me lærest, þæt ic ærest þa wære forlæte, þe ic to swa miclum cyninge nom, mid þy he me noht yfeles dyde ne laðes æteawde. Ac gif ic deað þrowian sceal, leofre me is, þæt he mec to deaðe sylle þonne unæðelra mon. Oðþe la hwider mæg ic nu leng fleon? Monigra geara tida ofer ealle Breotone ic flyma wæs, þæt ic me his hete bearh 7 warenode. Þa eode se his freond onweg from him, 7 he Eadwini ana þær ute gewunade; sæt swiðe unrot on stane beforan þære healle, 7 ongon mid monegum hætum his geþohta swenced beon: 7 ne wiste, hwider he eode oðþe hwæt him selest to donne wære.

Mid þy he þa longe swigendum nearonissum his modes 7 mid þy blindan fyre soden wæs, þa geseah he semninga on midre niht sumne mon wið his gongan uncuþes ondwlitan 7 uncuðes gegyrlan. Þa he ða to him cwom, þa wæs he forht geworden. Þa eode he to him, grette hine 7 frægn, for hwon he in þære tide, þe oðre men slépon 7 reston, ána swa unrot on stane wæccende sæte. Ða frægn he hine, hwæt þæs to him lumpe, hwæðer he wacode þe slépe, 7 hwæðer he þe ute þe inne wære. Ða ondswarade he 7 him to cwæð: Ne tala þu me, þæt ic ne cunne þone intingan þinre unrotnisse 7 þinre wæcene 7 * onlæpnesse þines seðles. Ac
p. 514. ic cuðlice wat, ge hwæt þu eart ge for hwon þu gnornast, 7 hwylc toweard yfel þu þe in * neahnesse forhtast. Ac gesaga me hwylce mede þu wille syllan þam men, gif hwylc sy, þætte þec from þissum nearonessum alyse ond Rædwalde on mod beswápe, þæt he noht laðes ne gedo ne þec þinum feondum to cwale agife? Þa ondswarede 7 cwæð, þæt he ealle ða god, þe he mealte, for mede þislicre fremsumnesse syllan wolde. Ða ætecte he þa gyt his gesprec 7 cwæð: 7 nu gif he ðe eac, adwæsctum þinum feondum, in soðe toweard cynerice gehateð, swa þæt nales þæt an ealle þine yldran, ac ealle cyningas, þa ðe in Breotone wæron ær, þu in

l. 19. *slépo* T. *slep . on* (*t* erased) O. *slepon* Ca. B. l. 23. *onslæpnesse* T. *anlepnesse* Ca. *anlipnesse* (*i* out of *e* by erasure) O. *anlypnesse* B. l. 25. *nihtnesse* T. *eh,nesse* (one letter before *e* erased, *e* on erasure) O. *eht-*

you out of this country, and into a place where neither Redwald nor Æthelfrith can ever find you.' Eadwine replied: 'I am grateful for your offer and your love, but yet I cannot do what you advise, and wilfully forsake the compact made with so great a king, seeing that he has done me no harm nor showed any hostility. And if I must suffer death, I would rather he put me to death than a meaner man. And see now, where can I flee any longer? For many a year I have been a fugitive throughout all Britain, enduring and guarding against his hate.' Then his friend left him, and Eadwine stayed alone outside; he sat in great despondency on a stone before the hall, and began to be troubled with many a feverish thought, not knowing where to go or what it was best to do. After long brooding in silent anguish of mind and with secret heartburning, suddenly he saw at midnight a man approach him, of strange appearance and strange dress. His coming alarmed him; but the man came up, saluted him, and asked why at that time, when other men were asleep and took their rest, he sat alone on a stone awake and gloomy. Then Eadwine asked, what that was to him, whether he was awake or asleep, outside or within. The other answered and said: 'Do not imagine that I am ignorant of the cause of your despondency and wakefulness and your sitting solitary. But I know well, what you are and why you sorrow, and the coming trouble which you dread as imminent. But tell me what reward you will give to the man, if there be any one, to rescue you from these troubles, and prevail on Redwald's mind not to do you any harm, nor surrender you to your enemies to be put to death.' Then he answered and said, that he would make every return in his power as a reward for such service. Then the other continuing said: 'And now if he also truly promises you a throne in the future, after the extinction of your enemies, so that you may far surpass in power and authority not only your

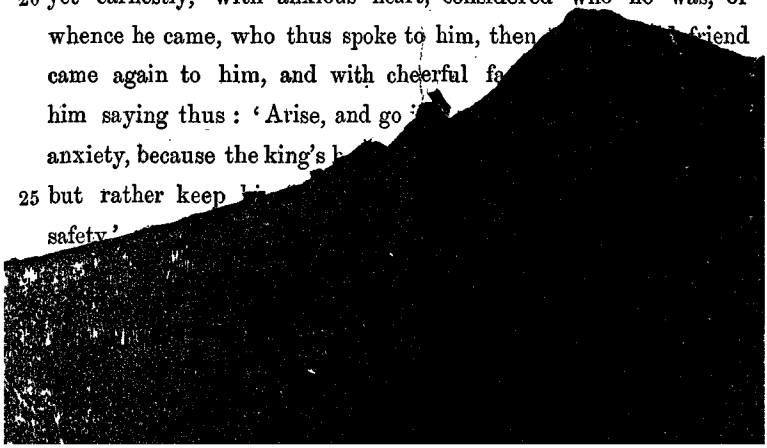
nysse Ca. *neahnysse* B. (C.?). Perhaps *neaweste* = in proximo. l. 30. *ætecte* C. *æticte* B. *ætycte* O. *geycte* Ca. *gyt ecte* T.

meahte 7 in rice feor oferstigest? Þa wæs he Eadwine baldra geworden in þære frignesse, 7 sona gehet, se ðe him swa micle fremsumnesse forgefe, þæt he him þæs wolde wyrðelice þoncunce don. Cwæð he þriddan siðe to him, se þe him wið spræc: Ono gif se mon, se ðe þyslice gife 7 swa micle soðlice þe towearde forecwið, ond eac swylce geþeahte þinre hælo 7 betran lifes 7 nyttran þe æteawan mæg, þonne ænig þinra maga oðþe yldrena æfre gehyrde— cwist þu hwæðer þu his þa halwendan monunge onfon wille 7 him hearsum beon? Þa ne *elde he Eadwini owiht ac sona gehet, þæt he wolde in eallum þingum him hearsum beon 7 his lare lustlice onfon, se þe hine from swa monegum ermþum 7 teonum generede 7 to heanisse cynerices forðgelædde. Þa he ða þisse ondsware onfeng, se þe mid hine spræc, þa instæpe sette he mid þa swiðron hond him on ðæt heafod 7 þus cwæð: Donne þis tacen þislic þe tocyme, þonne gemyne þu þas tide uncres gespreces 7 ne yld þu þæt þu þa þing gefylle, þe ðu me nu gehete. Þa he ða þas word spræc, þa ne wiste he semninga hwær he cwom; wolde þæt he in þon ongete, þæt þæt mon ne wæs, se þe him æteawde, ac þætte þæt gast wæs.

Ond mid þy he ða se geonga æþeling ána þær þa gyt sæt, ond wæs swiðe gefeonde bi þære frofre þe him gehaten wæs, ac hwæðre sorgende mode geornlice þohte, hwæt se wære oðþe hwonan he cwome, se ðas þing to him sprecende wæs, þa com eft to him se foresprecena his freond 7 mid bliðe ondwleotan hine halette 7 grette; 7 þus cwæð: Aris, gong in; gerest þinne lichoman 7 þin mod buton sorgum, forðon þæs cyninges heorte is oncerred; ne wile he ðe owiht laðes gedon, ac he ma wile his treowa 7 his gehat wið þe gehealdan 7 þe feorhhyrde beon. Sægde him þa æfter þon þæt: Se cyning his geþoht, bi ðæm þe ic ðe ær sæde, þære cwene in deagolnesse onwreah. Ða onwende heo hine from þære yflan inngehygde his modes; lærde hine 7 monade, þætte þæt nænige þinga gedafenode swa æðelum cyninge 7 swa geþungennum, þæt he sceolde his freond þone betstan in neede gesetum in gold bebycgan, 7 his treowe for fea gitsunge 7 lufan forleosan, seo wære deorwyrðre eallum

l. 9. *helde* T. *ylde* O. Ca. B. l. 34. *deorwyrðre* C. Ca. *-ðe* T. *-ðe 7 mare* O. *-ðre 7 máre* B.

forefathers, but all kings that ever were in Britain?' Then Eadwine was encouraged by these questions, and at once promised, that whoever did him such service, should receive due gratitude at his hands. Then the man, who talked with him, spoke a third time: 'Well, if the man who foretells truly to you such a great gift in the future, also can show you a way to salvation and to a life better and more useful than any of your kindred or forefathers ever heard of, do you say that you will receive his salutary advice and hearken to him?' Then Eadwine made no delay, but promised at once to hearken in all things and receive his instruction cheerfully, when he saved him from such misery and calamity, and raised him to the throne. When the man who spoke with him received this answer, at once he put his right hand on his head and said: 'When this token comes to you in this wise, then remember the time of our conversation, and delay not to fulfil your present promise.' After these words were spoken, suddenly Eadwine knew not where he went; he would have it understood thereby, that it was not a man who appeared to him but a spirit. As the young prince still sat there alone, rejoicing greatly at the comfort promised him, yet earnestly, with anxious heart, considered who he was, or whence he came, who thus spoke to him, then [illegible] friend came again to him, and with cheerful fa[illegible] him saying thus: 'Arise, and go [illegible] anxiety, because the king's h[illegible] but rather keep h[illegible] safety.'



p. 515. maðmum. Hwæt sculon we þæs nu ma secgan? Dyde se cyning swa hit ær cweden wæs; nales þæt an þæt he ðone wreccan to cwale ne gesealde, ac eac swylce him gefultumade, þæt he to rice becwom. Forþon sona siðþan þa ærendwrecan ham cerdon, þe his cwale ærendodon, þa gebeon Rædwald his fyrd 7 micel weorod gesomnade to gewinnenne wið Æþelfriðe. Þa for he him togegnes ungelice weorode, forþon he ne wolde him fyrst alyfan, þæt he moste his weorod eal gesomnian. Ða geforon heo tosomne 7 gefuhton on gemære Mercna þeode æt eastdæle þære eá, þe is Idle nemned; 7 þær mon Æðelfrið þone cyning slog. Swylce eac in ðæm ilcan gefeohte mon sloh Rædwoldes sunu, se wæs haten Regenhere. Ond swa Eadwine æfter þam gódgesprece, þe he ær onfeng, nales þæt an þæt he him þa sætunge þa gewearonode þæs unhóldan cyninges, ac eac swylce æfter his slege him in þæs rices wuldor æfterfylgde.

Mid þy he þa Paulinus se biscop Godes word bodade 7 lærde, 7 se cyning elde þa gyt to gelyfanne 7 þurh sume tide, swa swa we ær cwædon, gelimplicum ana sæt, 7 geornlice mid him seolfum smeade 7 þohte, hwæt him selest to donne wære 7 hwylc æfæstnes him to healdanne wære, þa wæs sume dæge se Godes wer ingongende to him, þær he ana sæt, *ond* sette his þa swiðran hond him on þæt heafod, 7 hine ahsode hwæðer he þæt tacen ongytan meahte. Þa oncneow he hit sona sweotole 7 wæs swiðe forht geworden, 7 him to fotum feoll; 7 hine se Godes monn up hof, 7 him cuðlice tospræc, 7 þus cw[illegible] hwæt þu nu hafast þurh Godes gife þinra feonda [illegible] ðe ondrede, 7 þu þurh his sylene 7 gife þæm [illegible]odest. Ac gemyne nu þæt þu þæt þridde [illegible]u onfo his geleafan 7 his bebodu [illegible]feðum generede 7 eac in áre [illegible]illan hearsum beon [illegible]om tint-

and love of money.' Why should we say more? The king did as it has been said; he not only did not give up the exile to death, but also aided him in attaining to the throne. For soon after the envoys returned home, who sought his death, Redwald summoned his troops and gathered a large army to attack Æthelfrith. The latter marched to meet him with an inferior force, as the other did not give him time to assemble all his men. They encountered and fought on the borders of Mercia, east of the river called the Idle; and there king Æthelfrith was slain. A son of Redwald, called Regenhere, also fell in the battle. So Eadwine, in accordance with the divine message before received, not only escaped the snares of the hostile king, but also, after his death, succeeded to the throne of that kingdom. As bishop Paulinus preached and taught God's word, and the king still hesitated to believe, and for a period, as already said, often sat alone and earnestly debated and considered with himself, what he had best do and what religion he should follow, then one day the man of God came in to him, as he sat alone, and putting his right hand on his head, asked him whether he could understand the token. Then he at once clearly recognised it, and being much alarmed fell at his feet; but the man of God raised him up and spoke to him kindly, saying: 'Well now, you have by God's grace escaped the hand of your enemies, whom you feared, and by his gift and grace succeeded to the thro[illegible]ired. But remember now to fulfil the third thing, [illegible] to receive his faith and keep his comma[illegible] from temporal adversities and exa[illegible] kingdom. And if yo[illegible] preaches and

X.

Cap. 13. Þa se cyning þa þas word gehyrde, þa *and*swarode he hi*m* 7 cw*æð*, þ*æt* he æghwæþer ge wolde ge sceolde þam geleafan onfon þe he lærde. Cwæð hwæþere, þ*æt* he wolde mid his freondum 7 mid his wytum gesprec 7 geþeaht habban, þæt gif hi mid hine þæt geþafian woldan, þ*æt* hi ealle ætsomne on lifes willan Criste gehalgade wæran. Þa dyde se cyning swa swa he cwæð, 7 se bisceop þæt geþafade. Þa hæfde he gesprec 7 geþeaht mid his witum 7 syndriglice wæs fram him eallum frignende, hwylc him þuhte 7 gesawen wære þeos niwe lar 7 þære godcundnesse bigong, þe þær læred wæs.

p. 516. Him þa *and*swarode his ealdorbisceop, Cefi wæs haten: Geseoh þu, cyning, hwelc þeos lar sie, þe us nu bodad is. Ic þe soðlice andette, þæt ic cuðlice geleornad hæbbe, þæt eallinga nawiht mægenes ne nyttnesse hafað sio æfæstnes, þe we oð ðis hæfdon 7 beeodon. Forðon nænig þinra þegna neodlicor ne gelustfullicor hine sylfne underþeodde to ura goda bigange þonne ic; 7 noht þon læs monige syndon, þa þe maran gefe 7 fremsumnesse æt þe onfengon þonne ic, 7 on eallum þingum maran gesynto hæfdon. Hwæt ic wat, gif ure godo ænige mihte hæfdon, þonne woldan hie me ma fultumian, forþon ic him geornlicor þeodde 7 hyrde. Forþon me þynceð wislic, gif þu ges[illegible]ng beteran 7 strangran, þe us niwan bodad [illegible]nfon.

[illegible]inges wita 7 ealdormann geþafunge sealde, [illegible]ð: Þyslic me is gesewen, þu cyning, [illegible]to wiðmetenesse þære tide, [illegible]m sitte mid þinum [illegible]læd 7 þin

X.

When the king heard these words, he answered and said, that it was both his desire and duty to receive the faith which the bishop taught. Yet he said, he would speak and take counsel with his friends and counsellors, and if they agreed with him, all together would be consecrated to Christ in the fount of life. Then the king did as he said, and the bishop assented. Then he conferred and took counsel with his advisers, and asked all of them separately their opinion about this new doctrine and worship of the Deity, which was taught therein. Then his chief bishop, called Cæfi, answered: 'Consider for your part, O king, what this doctrine is, that is now preached to us. I truly confess to you, what I have learnt for certain, that the religion we have held and maintained hitherto is absolutely without use or excellence. For none of your followers devoted himself more closely or cheerfully to the worship of our gods than I did; but nevertheless many have received more gifts and promotion from you than I, and in all things have prospered more. Well, I am sure if our gods had any power, they would help me more, for I more zealously served and obeyed them. Therefore, if you consider the religion to be fairer and stronger, which is newly preached to us, it seems wise to me that we should receive it.' Another of the king's counsellors, [illegible] men, assented to his words, and taking up the [illegible] 'O king, the present life of man o[illegible] time unknown to us, seems to [illegible] chief men and follow[illegible] your hall[illegible]

spearwa 7 hrædlice þæt hus þurhfleo, cume þurh oþre duru in, þurh oþre ut gewite. Hwæt he on þa tid, þe he inne bið, ne bið hrinen mid þy storme þæs wintres; ac þæt bið an eagan bryhtm 7 þæt læsste fæc, ac he sona of wintra on þone winter eft cymeð. Swa þon*ne* þis monna *lif* to medmiclum fæce ætyweð; hwæt þær foregange, oððe hwæt þær æfterfylige, we ne cunnun. Forðon gif þeos lar owiht cuðlicre 7 gerisenlicre brenge, þæs weorþe is þæt we þære fylgen. Þeossum wordum gelicum oðre aldormen 7 ðæs cyninges geþeahteras sprecan.

Þa gen tóætyhte Cęfi 7 cwæð, *þæt* he wolde Paulinus þone bisceop georn licor gehyran be þam Gode sprecende þam þe he bodade. Þa het se cyning swa don. Þa he þa his word gehyrde, þa clypode he 7 þus cwæð: Geare ic þęt ongeat, *þæt* ðæt nowiht wæs, þæt we beeodan. Forþon swa micle swa ic georn licor on þam bigange þæt sylfe soð sohte, swa ic hit læs mette. Nu þonne ic openlice ondette, þæt on þysse lare þæt sylfe soð scineð, þæt us mæg þa gyfe syllan ecre eadignesse 7 eces lifes hælo. Forþon ic þonne nu lære, cyning, þæt *þæt templ* 7 þa wigbedo, þa ða we buton wæstmum ænigre nytnisse halgodon, þæt we þa hraþe forleosen 7 fyre forbærne. Ono hwæt he þa wæs se cyning openlice * ondettende þam biscope 7 him eallum, þæt he wolde fæstlice þam deofolgildum wiðsacan ond Cristes geleafan onfon. Mid þy þe he þa se cyning from þæm foresprecenan biscope sohte 7 ahsode heora halignesse, þe heo ær bieodon, hwa ða wigbed 7 þa hergas [illegible] gilda [illegible] heora heowum, þe heo ymbsette wæron, an scolde, þa *ond*sworede he: Efne ic. [illegible]ge mid dysignesse beeode, to bysene [illegible]pan, þonne ic seolfa þurh þa [illegible]. Ond he ða sona from [illegible]bone cyning

and there came a sparrow and swiftly flew through the house, entering at one door and passing out through the other. Now as long as he is inside, he is not pelted with winter's storm; but that is the twinkling of an eye and a moment of time, and at once he passes back from winter into winter. So then this life of man appears for but a little while; what goes before, or what comes after, we know not. So, if this new doctrine reports anything more certain or apt, it deserves to be followed.' The other elders and the king's counsellors expressed themselves in similar terms. Then Cæfi further said, that he wished to hear more attentively Paulinus speaking about the God whom he preached. This the king ordered to be done. On hearing the bishop's words Cæfi exclaimed, 'I see clearly, that all we worshipped, was but naught. For the more attentively I sought this very truth in our worship, the less I found it. Now then I openly acknowledge that the very truth is evident in this teaching, which can give us the grace of eternal blessedness and the salvation of eternal life. Therefore, O king, I now advise, that we should speedily destroy and burn with fire the temple and the altars, which we consecrated without producing any benefit.' So then the king openly professed before the bishop and all, that he would firmly renounce idols and receive Christ's faith. When the king asked the aforesaid bishop of that religion, which they previously maintained, who should first profane and throw down the altars and fanes of the idols, with which surrounded them, then he answered, [illegible] my folly worshipped them, who may [illegible] overthrow them, as an example [illegible] through the wisdom received [illegible] away from [illegible]

bæd þæt he him wæpen sealde 7 stodhors, þæt he meahte on cuman 7 deofolgyld toweorpan. Forðon þam biscope heora halignesse ne wæs alyfed, þæt he moste wæpen wegan, ne elcor buton on myran ridan. Þa sealde se cyning him sweord, þæt he hine mid gyrde; 7 nom his spere on hond 7 hleop on þæs cyninges stedan 7 to þæm deofulgeldum ferde. Þa ðæt folc hine þa geseah swa gescyrpedne, þa wendon heo þæt he teola ne wiste, ac þæt he wedde. Sona þæs þe he nealehte to þæm herige, þa sceat he mid þy spere, þæt hit sticode fæste on þæm herige, ond wæs swiðe gefeonde þære ongytenesse þæs soðan Godes bigonges. Ond he ða heht his geferan toweorpan ealne þone herig 7 þa getimbro 7 forbærnan. Is seo stow gyt æteawed gu ðeara deofulgilda, noht feor east from Eoforwicceastre begeondan Deorwentan þære ea, ond gen to dæge is nemned Godmundingaham, þær se biscop þurh þæs soðan Godes inbryrdnesse towearp 7 fordyde þa wigbed, þe he seolfa ær gehalgode.

XI.

Cap. 14. Ða onfeng Eadwine cyning mid eallum þæm æðelingum his þeode 7 mid micle folce Cristes geleafan 7 fulwihte bæðe þy endlyftan geare his rices. Wæs he gefulwad from Paulini þæm biscope his lareowe in Eoforwicceastre þy halgestan Eastordæge in Sc̄e Petres cirican þæs apostoles, þa he þær hræde geweorce of treo cirican getimbr[illegible] þan he gecristnad wæs, swylce eac his lareowe 7 bi[illegible] scōl forgeaf. Ond sona þæs þe he gefulbiscopes lare maran cirican 7 hyrran mb þa cirican utan, þe he ær worhte. ealles gefylled wære 7 geendad, þæt wæs, 7 þæt ilce geweorc his re tide Paulinus

and prayed the king to give him arms and a stallion to ride on and overthrow the idols. For the bishop of their religion was not allowed to bear arms, nor ride except on a mare. Then the king gave him a sword to gird on; and he took his spear in his hand, and springing on the king's stallion proceeded to the idols. Now when the people saw him thus equipped, they supposed that he was not in his right mind, but gone mad. As soon as he approached the sanctuary, he cast his spear, so that it stuck fast in the sanctuary, and exulted in his knowledge of the worship of the true God. Then he bade his companions pull down all that sanctuary and its buildings, and burn them up with fire. The place is still pointed out of that former idol worship, not far east of York beyond the river Derwent, and at this day it is still called Goodmanham, where the bishop, by the inspiration of the true God, pulled down and destroyed the altars previously consecrated by himself.

XI.

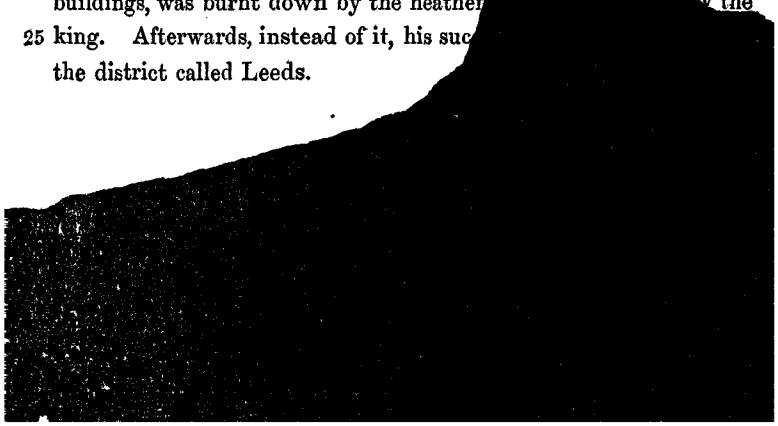
Then king Eadwine, with all the princes of his people and a large crowd, received the faith of Christ and baptism in the eleventh year of his reign. He was baptized by his teacher, bishop Paulinus, at York on the most holy day of Easter in the church of the apostle St. Peter, which he there hastily erected of wood. After being catechized, he had also assigned [illegible] residence to his teacher and bishop, Paulinus. As [illegible] he began under the bishop's direction [illegible] larger and loftier church of stone, [illegible] built and enclosing it. But [illegible] full height and we[illegible] and l[illegible]

burghe, seo wæs Ceorles dohtor Mercna cyninges. Wæron eac gefulwade æfterfylgendre tiide oðer his bearn, of Æðelberge þære cwéne acende, Æþelhun 7 Æðelfrið his dohtor 7 oðer his sunu,
p. 518. Wuscfrea wæs haten; ac þa ærran tu under crisman forðgeleordon 7 in cirican in Eoferwiicceastre bebyrgde wæron. Swilce eac wæs gefulwad Yffe Osfriðes sunu, 7 monige æðelingas þæs cynecynnes. Is þæt sægd, þætte swa micel hætu 7 lust wære Cristes geleafan 7 fulwihtbæðes in Norðanhymbra þeode, þætte Paulinus se biscop sumre tide com mid þone cyning 7 cwene in þone cynelican tun, se wæs nemned Ætgefrin; 7 þær wunode syx 7 þrittig daga, þæt he þær þæt folc cristnade 7 fulwade. 7 he noht elles dyde eallum þam dagum from ær morgenne oð æfen, þon þæt cumende Cristes folc þider of eallum tunum 7 stowum mid godcundre lare timbrede ond synna forlætnesse bæðe aðwóg in þæm streame þe Gleue is nemned. Þes tun wæs forlæten in þara æfterfylgendra cyninga tidum, 7 oðer wæs fore þæm getimbred in þære stowe þe Mælmen hatte. Þa stowe syndon in Beornica mægðe; ac swelce eac in Dera mægðe, þær se biscop oft mid þone cyning wæs, þæt he fulwade þæt folc in Swalwan streame, se ligeð bi Cetreht tune. Forþon þa gena ne wæron cyrican getimbrode ne fulwihtstowe in þæm fruman þære acendan cirican; 7 hwæðre in Donafelda, þær wæs cyninges bold, het Eadwine þær cirican getimbran, ða æfter fæce þa hæðnan mid ealle þy boðle forbærndon, from þæm eft se cyning slegen [illegible] for þæm eft þa æfteran cyningas him boðl [illegible] Loidis hatte.

XII.[1]

[illegible] micle wilsumnesse þæs bigonges [illegible] ld Eastengla cyning [illegible] esse deofol-

exile, of Cwenburh, daughter of Ceorl king of Mercia. At a later time were baptized also his other children, born of queen Æthelburg, namely Æthelhun and Æthelfrith his daughters, and another son named Wuscfrea. The first two died while chrisom-children, and were buried in the church at York. Yffe, son of Osfrith, was also baptized, and many princes of the royal race. It is said, that there was such fervour and desire for Christ's faith and baptism among the people of Northumbria, that bishop Paulinus came once with the king and queen to the royal residence, which was called Yeverin; and there he remained thirty-six days to catechize and baptize the people. And every day from early morning till evening he did nothing but instruct Christ's people in the word of God, who flocked there from all villages and places, washing them in the laver of the remission of sins at the river called the Glen. This royal residence was abandoned in the time of his successors, and another was erected instead at the place called Melfeld. These places are in the province of Bernicia; but also in the province of Deira, where the bishop was often with the king, he baptized the people in the river Swallow, which passes by the township of Catterick. For as yet, at the beginning of the newborn church, neither churches nor baptisteries had been erected; still at Slack, where there was a royal residence, Eadwine ordered a church to be built, which after a time, [illegible] with all the royal buildings, was burnt down by the heathen [illegible] the king. Afterwards, instead of it, his suc[illegible] the district called Leeds.



com, wæs biswicen from his wife 7 from sumum unrihtum lareowum, þæt he forlet þa hluttornesse Cristes geleafan. 7 his þa neorran tide wæron wyrson þam ærran, swa þætte þy þeawe þe geo þa ealdan Samaritane dydon, þæt he wæs gesewen Criste þeowian 7 eac deofolgeldum; ond he in þam ilcan herige wigbed hæfde to Cristes onsægdnesse 7 oðer to deofla onsægdnisse. Se ilca here þær wunade oð Aldwulfes tide þære ilcan mægðe cyninges; sægde he þæt he hine cneoht weosende gesawe. Wæs he se forespreca cyning Rædwald æðelre gebyrde, þeah þe he on dæde unæðele wære: wæs he Tyteles sunu; þæs fæder wæs Wuffa haten, from þæm Eastengla cyningas forðon Wuffingas wæron nemnde.

Óno hwæt Eorpwald þa se cyning nales æfter micelre tide wæs ofslegen from sumum hæðnum men, Ricberht hatte. Þonon þa seo mægð þreo gear ful in gedwolan wæs lifiende, oðþæt Sigeberht Eorpwaldes broðor to þam rice feng. Se mon wæs þurh eall se
p. 519. cristenesta 7 se gelæredesta; wæs he be þam breþer lifigendum wrecca in Gallia londe; 7 þær wæs mid þam gerynum Cristes geleafan wel gelæred. Þæs geleafan he wolde his leode dælnimende gedon, sona þæs þe he to rice feng; 7 his þæm godan willan wel gefultmode Felix se biscop, se cwom of Burgundena rices dælum, þær he wæs acenned 7 gehalgod. Cwom he ærest hider ofer sæ to Honorie þæm ærcebiscope; 7 him sægde hi[illegible] willan 7 his lust. Þa sende he hine godcunde lare to læranne in Eastengle. Ond he sona se arfæst[illegible]astlican londes micelne wæstm gemette in [illegible]folca. 7 he ealle þa ðeode æfter þæm [illegible]gre wenisse 7 ungesælignesse alysde, 7 to [illegible]esse weorcum 7 to geofum þære ecan [illegible]conseðl in Dommocceastre; ond [illegible]rece fore wæs, 7 þær

home he was seduced by his wife and unrighteous teachers, and left the first purity of Christ's faith. And his last time was worse than his first, so that, imitating the usage of the old Samaritans long ago, he was seen to serve Christ as well as idols; and in the same sanctuary he had an altar for Christ's sacrifice and another for sacrifice to devils. This sanctuary remained there till the time of Aldwulf, king of that people; he said that he saw it when a boy. The aforesaid king Redwald was of noble birth, though ignoble in his deeds. He was son of Tytel, whose father was called Wuffa, from whom the kings of the East Angles were accordingly named Wuffingas. Now the king Eorpwald soon after was slain by a heathen, named Ricberht. Then for three years' time this people lived in their errors, till Sigeberht, brother of Eorpwald, succeeded to the throne, a man in all points most christian and most learned. In his brother's lifetime he had been an exile in Gaul; and there was well instructed in the sacraments of Christ's faith. In this faith he would have his people partake, as soon as he succeeded to the throne; and his good will was well seconded by bishop Felix, who came from the district of Burgundy, where he was born and consecrated. He came here across the sea, first to archbishop Honorius, and told him his will and desire. And he sent him to teach the word of God in East Anglia. And this pious cultivator of the spiritual soil soon found much fruit of faithful people in that nation. And he released all that people from long continued iniquity and infelicity, in accordance with the mystic import of his name, and turned them to the faith of Christ, to the works of truth, and to the grace of eternal felicity. He received an episcopal residence at Dunwich; and after ruling as bishop for seventeen years, he there ended his life in peace.

XIII.

Bishop Paulinus also taught God's word in Lindsey. This province is the nearest on the south side of the river Humber, and

and B.: not in Ca. l. 15. *to þam* to *be þam* not in T. Text from l. 29. *7 þær* (=ibidem) T. C. O. B. *þær* Ca.

ligeð ut on sæ. Ond þa ærest to Drihtnes geleafan gecerde Lindcylene ceastre gerefan, þæs noma wæs Blæcca, mid his heorode. Swelce he in þære ceastre stænenne cirican getimbrede æðeles geweorces, þære gen to dæge mæg mon geseon þa weallas stondan; ond þær gen æghwylce geare æteawed bið monig wundor untrumra hælo þara ðe ða stowe mid geleafan secað. In þære seolfan cirican Scs Paulinus se biscop, þa Iustus se biscop to Criste leorde, Honorium for hine to biscope gehalgode, swa we eft heræfter gemyndgiað. Bi þisse mægðe geleafan, cwæð he Beda, me sægde sum arwyrðe mæssepreost 7 abbud of Peortanea þæm ham, se wæs Deda haten. Cwæð he, þæt him sægde sum eald weota, þæt he wære gefulwad æt middum dæge from Paulino ðæm biscope in Eadwinis ondweardnisse þæs cyninges, ond micel menigeo þæs folces in Treontan streame bi Teolfinga ceastre. Sægde se ilca mon hwylc þæs biscopes heow wære Scē Paulinus: cwæð þæt he wære long on bodige 7 hwon forðheald; hæfde blæc feax 7 blácne ondwlitan, medmicle nose þynne, 7 wære æghwæðer ge arwyrðlic ge onderslic on to seonne. Hæfde he him to fultome in þære godcundan þegnunge Iacobum diacon; wæs se mon wel gelæred 7 æðele ge in Criste ge in his cirican; se leofað usse tide.

XIIII.

p. 520. Is ðæt sægd, ðæt in ða tid swa micel sib wære in Breotone æghwyder ymb, swa Eadwines rice wære, þeah þe an wiif wolde mid hire nicendum cilde, heo meahte gegan buton ælcere sceðenisse from sæ to sæ ofer eall þis ealond. Swylce eac se ilca cyning to nytnisse fond his leodum, þæt in monegum stowum, þær hluttre wællan urnon, bi fulcúðum strætum, þær monna færnis mæst wæs, þæt he þær gehet for wegferendra gecelnisse stapolas asetton 7 þær ærene ceacas onahón: ond þa hwæðre nænig fore his ege 7 his lufan hrinan dorste ne ne wolde buton his nedþearflicre þegnunge. Swelce he hæfde swa micle heannisse in þæm cynerice, þætte nal[illegible] þæt aan þæt heo segn fore him bæron æt gefeohte, ac eac swylc[illegible]

l. 17. *arwyrðlic* O. Ca. *-u-* *-weorð-* B. *-wyrlic* T. l. 20. *criste* *cirste* T. *on cristes cirican* B. l. 22. *an* O. B. *án* Ca. *aa* T.

runs out into the sea. And there first he converted to the faith of the Lord the reeve of Lincoln, whose name was Blæcca, and all his household. Also in that town he built a stone church of noble workmanship, of which the walls may be still seen standing; and there too every year are displayed many miracles in the healing of the sick, who visit that place in faith. In the same church bishop Paulinus, after bishop Justus departed to Christ, consecrated Honorius bishop in his room, as we will relate afterwards. With regard to the faith of this people, says Beda, a venerable priest, abbot at the house of Parteney, called Deda, spoke to me. He said, an old councillor had told him, that he was baptized at mid-day by bishop Paulinus in presence of king Eadwine, along with a great crowd of people, at the river Trent by the town of Torksey. The same man described the appearance of the bishop Paulinus: he said that he was long in body and slightly bent; he had black hair, a pale face and a small thin nose, and was both venerable and awful in aspect. He had, to assist him in the divine ministry, the deacon James, a man well instructed and noble both in Christ and in his church: he is alive in our day.

XIV.

It is said, that in those times there was such peace in Britain, everywhere around where Eadwine had authority, though a woman should go alone with her new-born child, she might proceed without injury from sea to sea all over this island. Also the king established for the use of his people a custom, that in many places where clear springs ran, and on frequented roads, where there was most traffic, he directed for the refreshment of travellers that poles should be set up and brazen cups hung upon them: and yet one, out of fear and love for him, durst or would touch them, but for his necessary use. He maintained such a noble style in realm, that not only were standards borne before him in battle, time of peace, wherever he rode, among his hamlets or

sibbe tiide, þær he rad betweoh his hamum oðþe be tunum mid his þegnum, ge þeah he eode, þæt him mon symle þæt tacn beforan bær.

Cap. 17. In þære tide hæfde Honorius biscophád þæs apostolican seðles, se wæs Bonefatius æfterfylgend. Ða he ða se papa þæt geahsode, þætte Norðanhymbro þeod mid Eadwine heora cyninge to Cristes geleafan 7 to his ondetnesse gecerred wæs þurh Paulinus godcunde lare, þa sende he þam ilcan biscope hider pallium; 7 eac swylce Eadwine þæm cyninge sende trymmendlic gewrit, 7 mid fæderlice lufan hine wæs onbærnende, þæt heo in þæm geleafan soðfæstnisse, þone þe heo onfengon, symle fæstlice astoden 7 aa wunedon.

XV.

Cap. 18. Betweoh ðas ðing ða wæs Iustus se ærcebiscop gelæded to þæm heofonlecan rice þy feorðan dæge iduum Novembrium. Ond Honorius wæs haten se ðe for hine to biscope gecoren wæs. Se cwom to S̄cē Paulini, þæt he hine halgian sceolde; 7 he him togegnes ferde to Lindcylene, 7 in þære cirican, þe we ær beforan sægdon, he hine þær to biscope gehalgode. Se wæs from S̄ Agustine fifta ærcebiscop Contwara burge. Þæm biscope eac swylce se ilca papa Honorius sende pallium 7 gewrit, in þæm he gesette 7 arædde, þætte swa oft swa Cantwareburge biscop oðþe Eoforwicceastre of þissum life geleorde, þætte se ðe lifigende wære þæs hades, hæfde mealhte oðerne biscop his stowe to halgianne, þær se oðer forðleorde, ðy læs nead wære, þæt heo simle swencte wæron ofer swa longne wæg sæs 7 londes to Rome for halgunge ærcebiscopes.

XVI.

p. 21. Cap. 20. Ono hwæt he Eadwine, æfter þon þe he seofonteone winter Ongolþeode 7 Bretta in cynedome wuldorlice fore wæs, of þæm wintrum he syx winter Cristes rice compade,—þa wonn wið hin Ceadwealla Bretta cyning; 7 him Penda on fultome wæs, se

1. 1. *be tunum* (first *u* on erasure) O. B. *túnum* (only) Ca. *be tweon* 1. 6. *-bro* T. *-bra* O. Ca. B. 1. 10. *-nende* O. Ca. B. *-nendne* T. *from agustine* (*s* above line and crossed) T. *sc̄e austine* O.

townships with his retinue, and even if he was on foot, the ensign was always borne before him.

At that time Honorius was bishop of the apostolic see, being successor to Boniface. Now when this pope learnt, that the people of Northumbria along with king Eadwine had been converted to the faith and confession of Christ by Paulinus' preaching, he sent here a pallium to this bishop; and he also sent a letter of exhortation to king Eadwine, and with fatherly affection encouraged him, that they might ever stand fast and always abide in belief of the truth, which they had received.

XV.

Meantime archbishop Justus had been taken to the kingdom of heaven on the tenth of November. Honorius was the name of the bishop chosen in his room. He came to St. Paulinus to be consecrated; who proceeded to Lincoln to meet him and consecrated him as bishop, in the church we have mentioned before. He was fifth archbishop of Canterbury from St. Augustine. To this bishop also pope Honorius sent a pallium and a letter, in which he arranged and directed, that as often as the bishop of Canterbury or York departed this life, the survivor of this rank should have power to consecrate another bishop, in room of the one who had departed, that there might be no need for perpetually toiling over so long a journey by sea and land to Rome, for consecration as archbishop.

XVI.

Now after Eadwine had reigned gloriously over English and Britons for seventeen years—during six of which he had been champion of Christ's kingdom—Ceadwealla king of the Britons went to war with him, and was supported by Penda, the most

Ca. *sc̄e agustine* B. l. 20. *bisceop* O. *b̄* Ca. *bysceop* B.: not in T. l. 28. *wintr*ᵉ T. *-ter* O. B. *winī* Ca.

mesta esne of Mercna cyningcynne. *Ond* he Penda of þære tide þære ilcan þeode Mercna rice tu 7 twentig wintra missenlice hlete fore wæs. Þa wæs geðeoded hefig gefeoht 7 micel on Hæðfelda, 7 þær mon Eadwine þone cyning sloh þy feorðan dæge iduum Octobrium; hæfde he þa seofon 7 feowertig wintra: 7 eall his weorod oðþe ofslegen wæs oðþe geflymed. Swylce eac in þæm ilcan gefeohte Osfrið his sunu oðer ær him gefeoll, se hwætesta fyrdesne. Oðer his sunu for neade Eadfrið to Pendan þæm cyninge gebeag; ond se æft*er* fæce from him, þa Oswald cyning wæs, unrihtlice ofslegen wæs ofer aðas 7 treowe.

Þære tide wæs þæt mæste wæl geworden in Norðanhymbra ðeode 7 ciriean. Ne wæs þæt holinga; forðon oðer þara heretogena wæs hæðen, þe þæt gefeoht fremede, oðer wæs þæm hædnum reðra 7 grimra, forðon þe he elreordig wæs. Wæs he Penda mid ealle Mercna þeode deofolgeldum geseald, 7 þæs Cristnan noman wæs unwis. Ceadwealla, þeah ðe he ða ondetnesse hæfde þæs Cristenan noman, hwæðre he wæs in his mode 7 on his þeawum to þon elreordig, þæt he ne furþum wiiflice hade oðþe þære unsceðþendan eldo cilda árede, ac he ealle mid wildeorlicre reðnesse þurh tintrego deaðe gesealde. Ond he longre tide ealle heora mægðe mid gewede wæs geondferende, *ond* on his mode þohte 7 þreodode, þæt wolde eall Ongolcyn of Breotone gemærum aflyman. O*nd* þeah þe he Cristen beon sceolde, ne wolde he ænige aare weotan on þære Cristnan æfestnisse, seo mid him up cumen wæs: swa gen to dæge Bretta þeaw is, þæt heo Ongolcynnes geleafan 7 æfæstnisse for noht habbað, ne him in ængum þingum ma gemænsumigan willað þon hæðnum monnum.

Ða wæs broht Eadwinis heafod þæs cyninges to Eoforwiicceastre, 7 wæs eft æft*er* þon gedon in Sc̄e Petres cirican þæs apostolis, þa he tim*b*ran ongon; ac Oswald his æft*er*fylgend heo geendade, swa we ær beforan sægdon. Wæs hit geseted in Sc̄e Gregories portice þæs papan, from þæs discipuli he lifes word 7 Cristes geleafan onfeng.

Ða æft*er* Eadwinis slege 7 for þisse tida frecelnisse Sc̄s Paulinus

l. 14. *grimra* (out of original *grenra* ?) T. *grimra* Ca. *grimgra* O. (7 *grimra* not in B). l. 15. *crist.nan* (*e* erased, space left) T. *-ten-* O. Ca. B.

valiant soldier of the Mercian royal race. And this Penda at that time, had ruled over the kingdom of the Mercians for twenty-two years with varying fortune. The battle took place at Hatfield and was violent and bloody; in it fell king Eadwine on the twelfth of October; he was then forty-seven years old: and all his people were slain or put to flight. Also in this fight one of his sons, Osfrith, was killed before him, who was a brave warrior. His other son, Eadfrith of necessity submitted to king Penda; and he after a time, when Oswald was king, was unrighteously slain by him in defiance of oath and good faith. At that time very great carnage was wrought in the nation and church of Northumbria. Nor was that without reason; because one of those leaders, who carried on the war, was a heathen and the other more furious and cruel than the heathen, being a barbarian. Penda and all the Mercians were given up to idolatry and ignorant of the name of Christian. Though Ceadwealla professed to bear the name of Christian, yet in his mind and habits he was such a barbarian, that he respected not even the female sex nor the innocent years of children, but put all to death by torture with the savagery of a wild beast. And for a long time he traversed all that district like a madman, and in his heart thought and devised to drive all the English race beyond the borders of Britain. And though he should have been a christian, he would not show any regard for christian piety, which had sprung up among them. Such is still to this day the custom of the Britons, that they utterly disregard the faith and piety of the English, and will not communicate with them in any way more than with the heathen. Then the head of king Eadwine was brought to York, and later on was desposited in the church of the apostle Peter, which he began to build; but as we said before, it was completed by his successor Oswald. It was deposited in the chapel of pope St. Gregory, from whose disciples he had received the word of life and faith of Christ. Then after the slaughter of Eadwine, owing to the danger of the

se biscop genom mid hine Æðelbyrge þa cwene, þa he ær brohte, 7 in scipgetære hwearf eft to Cent. Wæs Bassa heora latteow Eadwines cyninges þegn se fromesta. Ond hi from Honorie þæm ærcebiscope 7 Eadbalde þam cyninge swiðe arweorðlice onfongne wæron. Hæfdon heo swylce mid him Eanflæde Eadwines dohtor 7 Wuscfrean his sunu, swylce eac Yffe his suna sunu Osfriðes, ða eft seo modor æfter þon onsende for Eadbaldes ege 7 Oswaldes þara cyninga in Gallia rice to fedanne Dægbrehte þæm cyninge, se wæs hire freond. 7 heo begen þær in cildhade forðferdon, 7 æfter gerisenre áre heora æðelnisse 7 unscæððednisse in cirican bebyrgde wæron. Brohte heo seo cwen mid heo monig deorwyrðe fatu Eadwines þæs cyninges, mid þæm wæs sum micel gylden Cristes mæl 7 gylden cælic gehalgad to wigbedes þenunge, þa nu gen oð þis mæg mon sceawigan gehealden in Contwara cirican.

In þa tid seo cirice æt Hrofesceastre wæs heordeleas, forðon Romanus þære ceastre biscop wæs from Iusto þæm ærcebiscope to ærendwrecan onsended to Honorie þam papan, 7 wearð bisenced in sæs yðum. Ond þurh þæt se foresprecena biscop Scs Paulinus þære cirican scire onfeng mid þæs arcebiscopes hæse 7 Eadboldes þæs cyninges; 7 he ða hæfde, oðþæt he on his tide þæt heofonlice rice gestah mid wæstme his þæs wundurlican gewinnes. On þære cyricean he forlet his pallium þæt he onfeng fram þam Romaniscan papan, 7 his lichama on sibbe resteð. Forlet he on his cyricean æt Eoforwicceastre Iacobum þone diacon; wæs þæt cyriclic wer 7 halig on eallum þingum: 7 he syððan langre tide on þære cyricean wæs wuniende, 7 micle hloþe þurh his lare 7 fullwihte þam ealdan feonde afyrde. 7 þone tun, þe he oftust oneardode, wel neah Cetrehtan geen tó dæge mon his naman cneðdeð. 7 forþon þe he wæs on cyricsonge se gelæredesta, 7 æfter fæce sibbe tide comon eft on Norðanhymbra mægðe 7 þæt rim weox þara leafsumra, þæt he wæs monigra magister ciriclices sanges æfter

l. 1. 7 O. Ca. B.: not in T. l. 4. *swiðe* O. Ca. *swyðe* B.: *swa* T. l. 20. From *tide* to *ac hwæðre* (Bk. iii. c. 1) wanting (leaf lost) in T. Text follows O. l. 21. *heof,lice* O. *heofonlice* Ca. B. l. 28. *geen* (*en* on erasure, not first hand) O. *gyt* Ca. *gyt* B. l. 30. *on sibbe tide comon* Ca. B. O. (has *com* . ., two erased).

times, bishop Paulinus took with him queen Æthelburh, whom he had previously brought there, and returned on board ship to Kent. Their guide was Bassa, a very brave follower of king Eadwine. And they were received with great honour by archbishop Honorius and king Eadbald. They had also with them Eanflæda daughter of Eadwine and his son Wuscfrea, as well as Yffe his son Osfrith's son. These their mother afterwards, for fear of the kings Eadbald and Oswald, sent to Gaul to be brought up by king Dagobert, who was her friend. There they both died in childhood, and were buried in church with the honour due to their birth and innocence. The queen brought with her much valuable plate belonging to king Eadwine, among which was a large golden crucifix and a golden chalice, consecrated for altar service, which may be still seen preserved in the church of Kent. At that time the church of Rochester had no pastor, because Romanus bishop of that town had been sent as envoy to pope Honorius by archbishop Justus, and had been drowned in the waves of the sea. For this reason the aforesaid bishop Paulinus received charge of the church, by invitation from the archbishop and king Eadbald; and he held it, till in his time he ascended to the kingdom of heaven with the reward of his glorious toil. In that church he left the pallium received from the Roman pontiff, and his body rests in peace. He left behind also in his church at York James the deacon, an ecclesiastic of great holiness: and he remained long after in that church, and by his teaching and by baptism he took much spoil from the old enemy. And the township in which he mostly lived, close to Ketterick, is still called by his name. And as he was most skilful in church music, and soon after times of peace returned to the people of Northumbria and the number of the faithful grew, he taught many church music after the usage of Rome

Romane þeawe 7 Cantwara. 7 he þa eald 7 dagana full, þæt is godra dæda, æfter þon þe halige writu sprecað, þęt he fædera weg wæs fylgende.

Her endaþ seo æftre bóc.

TERTIUS INCIPIT ECCLESIASTICAE HYSTORIAE GENTIS ANGLORUM LIBER.

I.

Đa Eadwine þa wæs on þam gefeohte ofslegen, þa feng to Dera rice his fæderan sunu Ælfrices, Osric wæs haten, forþon of þære mægþe he Eadwine hæfde cneorisse 7 rices fruman. Se Ósric þurh Sc̄e Paulines lare þæs bisceopes mid þam gerynum Cristes geleafan gelæred wæs. Þonne feng tó Beornica rice Æþelfriþes sunu, Eanfriđ wæs haten, forþon he wæs þare mægþe cyning-cynnes. In þas twa mægþa Norþanhymbra ðeod iu geara todæled wæs. 7 eallre þære tide þe Eadwine cyning wæs, þæt he se Eanfriđ Æþelfriþes sunu mid micelre æþelinga geogeðe ge mid Scottum ge mid Pehtum wracodon; 7 þær þurh Scotta lare Cristes geleafan onfengon, 7 gefullade wæron. 7 sona þæs þe Eadwine ófslegen wæs hiora feond, þa hwurfan hi ham to hiora eðle; 7 se Eanfriđ feng to Beornica rice. Óno hwæt æghwæþer þara cyninga, syðþan hi rice hæfdon, forletan þa geryno þæs heofonlican rices mid þam hi gehalgede wæron, 7 eft hwurfan to þam ealdan unsyfernessum deofolgylda. 7 hi sylfe þurh þæt forluran.

7 sona butan yldincge æghwæþerne Cadwalla Bretta cyning mid arleasre hond, ac hwæðre mid rihte wrace heo kwealde. Ond ærest þy neahstan sumera in municep þære byrig on ungearone þone Osric mid his fyrd becwom, 7 hine mid ealle his weorode

l. 2. *halige* Ca. *-igge* O. *þa halegan* B. *fædera* (æ on erasure of two) O. *fæ-* Ca. B. l. 4. These words and the Latin heading of Bk. iii. from C. Nothing in O. to mark division except that next line begins with capital Đ. Nothing in B.; but there is a break of 1½ lines and blank for capital (Đ). *-cę*. *-ria* Ca. The chapter number (I°) precedes the Latin. l. 5. *fen*, O. *feng* Ca. B. l. 6. *osric* B. *ósfriđ* O. *osfriđ* Ca. C. l. 7. *cneorisse* (*i* by erasure

and Kent. And then old and full of days, that is of good deeds, as holy writ says, he went the way of his fathers.

Here ends the second book.

THE THIRD BOOK OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE BEGINS.

I.

When Eadwine was slain in the battle, the son of his uncle Ælfric, Osric by name, succeeded to the throne of Deira, for Eadwine was by origin from that province and there first reigned. Osric had been instructed in the mysteries of Christ's faith by the teaching of the bishop Paulinus. Then Æthelfrith's son, by name Eanfrith, succeeded to the throne of Bernicia, for he belonged to the royal family in that people. The nation of Northumbria was of old divided into these two tribes. And as long as Eadwine was king, Eanfrith, son of Æthelfrith, along with a large number of young nobles, remained in exile among the Scots and Picts; and there they received Christ's faith through the teaching of the Scots and were baptized. And as soon as their enemy Eadwine was slain, they returned home to their native land; and Eanfrith succeeded to the throne of Bernicia. Now both of those kings, after their accession, gave up the sacraments of the kingdom of heaven by which they were sanctified, and fell back into the old foulness of idolatry. And by this they ruined themselves. At once without delay Cadwalla king of the Britons slew both with impious hand, but yet with just vengeance. And first, next summer, he came with his army on Osric by surprise at the town 'Municep,' and de-

out of *e*) O. *-isse* Ca. B. l. 9. *beorni* . . *ca* (two erased, the latter perhaps *g*) O. *beornica* Ca. B. l. 10. *su*^{nu}, O. *suna* Ca. *sunu* B. l. 13. *geogeðe* Ca. *geogoþe* B. *gegoþe* O. l. 14. *pe.htum* (one erased) O. *peohtum* B. *pehtum* Ca. *wra.eodon* (one erased) O. *wracnodon* B. *wracode* Ca. l. 22. T. begins 24^{a} at *ac*.

adilgade. *Æfter* þon he eall ger onwalg Norþanhymbra mægðe ahte, nales swa swa sigefæst cyning, ac swa swa leodhata, þæt he grimsigende forleas ond heo on gelicnesse þæs traiscan wæles wundade. Þa æt nyhstan cwom Eanfriþ buton gepeahte, his weotena twelfa sum, to him, þæt he wolde sibbe 7 friðes wilnian. Þone he ða gelice hlete geniðrade 7 ofslog. Þis ungesælige gear 7 þæt godlease gen to dæge laðe wunað, ge fore fleame
p. 524. cyninga from Cristes geleafan—7 eft to deofolgyldum cerdon,—ge for wedenheortnisse þæs leodhatan Bretta cyninges. Forðon þæt þa eallum gemænelice licade, þe ðara cyninga tiide teledon, *þæt* heo onweg adyde þa gemynd þara treowleasra cyninga; *ond* þæt ilce ger to þæs æfterfylgendan cyninges rice teledon, þæt is, Gode þæs leofan weres Oswaldes. Þa wæs æfter Eanfriðes slege his broðor, þæt he cwom Oswald mid medmicle weorode ac mid Cristes geleafan getrymede, *þæt* he þone mánfullan Bretta cyning mid his unmætum weorode, þæm he gealp, þæt him nowiht wiðstandan meahte, ofslog 7 acwealde in þære stowe, þe Ongle nemnað Denises burna.

Cap. 2. Is seo stow gen to dæge æteawed 7 is in micelre arwyrðnesse hæfd, þær se Oswald to þissum gefeohte cwom, 7 þær *þæt* halige tacn Cristes rode arærde 7 his cneo begde 7 God wæs biddende, þæt he in swa micelre nedþearfnisse his þigengum mid heofonlice fultome gehulpe. Is þæt sægd, þæt he *þæt* Cristæs mæl hraðe weorce geworhte 7 seað adulfe, in þæm hit stondan scolde. Ond he se cyning seolf wæs wallende in his geleafan; 7 þæt Cristes mæl genom 7 in þone seað sette 7 mid his hondum bæm hit heold 7 hæfde, oð þæt his þegnas mid moldan hit bestryðed hæfdon 7 gefæstnadan. *Ond* þa hit aræred wæs, *þæt* he his stefne up ahóf 7 cleopode to him eallum þæm weorode 7 cwæð: Uton ealle began usser cneo 7 gemænelice biddan þone ælmihtigan God þone lifiendan 7 þone soðan, þæt he us eac from þæm oferhygdigan feonde 7 þæm reðan mid his miltsunge gescylde: forðon he wat *þæt* we rihtlice winnað for hælo usse þeode. Þa dydon heo ealle swa he heht. 7 sona on morne, swa hit dagian ongan, *þæt* he fór

l. 22. *heofonlic* T. *-ce* (*e* on erasure) O. *-ce* Ca. *-cum* B. l. 26. *genome* T. *genam* O. B. *-nám* Ca. l. 32. *gescylde* O. Ca. B. *-dan* T.

stroyed him and his whole force. After that for a whole year he held the province of Northumbria, not as a victorious king, but as a tyrant, furiously ruining and rending it as it were with tragic carnage. Then at last Eanfrith, with twelve nobles, rashly came to him, purposing to sue for peace and alliance. Him the tyrant condemned to a like fate and slew. This inauspicious and miserable year is still odious, both for the apostasy of the kings from Christ's faith—and they returned to their idols—and for the fury of the tyrannical king of the Britons. Therefore all in common have determined, in computing the times of those kings, to strike out the record of these faithless monarchs, and reckon this year in the reign of their successor Oswald, the well beloved of God. Now after the death of his brother Eanfrith, Oswald marched with a small army but strengthened with the faith of Christ, and at the place, which in English is called Dilston, he defeated and slew the sinful king of the Britons, along with a monstrous host which he boasted was invincible.

The place is still shown at this day and is much venerated, where Oswald marched to the battle, and raised the holy ensign of Christ's cross and bowed his knees, and prayed God to assist with heavenly aid his worshippers in such dire necessity. It is said that the crucifix was of hasty workmanship, and that he dug a pit in which it should stand. The king himself was fervent in faith, and taking the crucifix set it in the pit, and with his two hands held and supported it, till his followers had piled up clay about it and made it fast. And when it was set up, he lifted up his voice and called to all that host and said: 'Come let us all bow our knees and together pray to the Almighty, living, and true God, to defend us from this proud and savage foe, with his mercy: for he knows that we justly fight for the safety of our people.' Then they all did as he bade. And in the morning, as soon as it began to dawn, he

on þone here þe him togegnes gesomnad wæs, 7 æfter geearnunge his geleafan þæt heo heora feond oferswiðdon 7 sige ahton. In þære gebedstowe æfter þon monig mægen 7 hælo tacen gefremed wæron to tacnunge 7 to gemynde þæs cyninges geleafan. Ond monige gen to dæge of þæm treo þæs halgan Cristes mæles sponas 7 scefþon neomað; 7 þa in wæter sendað, 7 þæt wæter on adlige men oððe on neat stregdað oðþe drincan syllað; 7 heo sona hælo onfoð. Is seo stow on Englisc genemned Heofenfeld. Wæs geo geara swa nemned fore tacnunge ðæra toweardan wundra, forðon þe þær þæt heofonlice sigebeacen aræred beon scolde, 7 þær heofonlic sige þam cinge seald wæs, 7 þær gen to dæge heofonlic wundor mærsode beoð.

Nis forðon ungerisne, þæt we aan mægen 7 aan wundor of monegum asecgan, þe æt þissum halgan Cristes mæle geworden wæs. Wæs sum Godes þeow of þæm broðrum þære cirican æt
p. 525. Agostaldes éa, þæs noma wæs Bothelm. Þa eode he sume neahte on íse unwærlice, þa gefeoll he semninga on his earm ufan, 7 þone swiðe geðræste 7 gebræc, 7 mid þa hefignesse þæs gebrocenan earmes swiðe geswenced wæs, swa þæt he for þy sáre ne meahte furðon his hond to muðe gedon. Ða gehyrde he sumne þara broðra sprecan, þæt he wolde feran to þæm halgan Cristes mæle, þa bæd he hine þæt he him þæs arwyrðan treos hwylcnehwego dæl brohte, þonne he eft ham come; cwæð þæt he gelyfde, þæt he þurh þæt meahte hælo onfon þurh Drihtnes gife. Þa eode se broðor, swa swa he hine bæd, 7 cwom eft on æfenne ham. Þa broðor æt beode sæton. Þa brohte him sumne dæl ealdes meoses, þe on þam halgan treo aweaxen wæs. Þa sæt he æt beode, næfde þa æt honda hwær þæt brohte lac gehealdan scolde; sende þa in his bosm. Þa he to reste eode, þa forget he þæt he in oðere stówe þæt geheolde; let forð in his bosme áwunian. Þa wæs æt middre neahte, þa he wæccende wæs, þa ne wiste he hwæt he gefelde cealdes æt his sidan licgan; cunnode þa mid his hond 7

l. 9. *ðæra* O. *þara* B. *þære* Ca. T. l. 30. *áwunian* (accent dubious) T. *awunian* Ca. *.wunian* (one erased) O. *ȳ wunedon* (omits *let*) B. l. 32. *cunnode þa* O. Ca. B. *cunnoða* T.

advanced against the enemy which was arrayed against him, and as his faith deserved, they defeated their enemies and won the victory. Afterwards at this place of prayer many marvels and miracles of healing were performed in token and memory of the king's faith. And at the present day still many take chips and shavings from the wood of this holy crucifix, and put them in water, and sprinkle the water on sick men or cattle, or give it to drink; and they are at once cured. The place is called in English 'Heavenfield.' It was of old so named, foreshadowing the future wonders, because there the heavenly trophy should be reared, and there victory from heaven was given to the king, and still at the present day heavenly marvels are celebrated there. It is not therefore unsuitable to relate one miracle and one marvel out of many, which took place at this holy crucifix. There was a servant of God among the brethren of the church at Hexham, whose name was Bothelm. He was walking one night on the ice incautiously and suddenly fell upon his arm, violently bruising and fracturing it, and was so tortured with the pain in the broken arm, that he could not on account of the pain even raise his hand to his mouth. When he heard one of the brethren say, that he was going to that holy crucifix, he begged him to bring a little bit of that precious tree, when he returned home; he said he believed, he might by God's grace be cured through its efficacy. Then the brother went, as he asked, and came home in the evening. The brethren were sitting at table. Then he brought him a bit of old moss, grown on the holy timber. As he sat at table, he had nothing at hand to keep the proffered gift in; so he slipped it into his bosom. When he went to bed, he forgot to put it away elsewhere, and let it remain in his bosom. Rousing up at midnight he felt, he knew not what, lying cold at his side, and tried with his hand to find what it was. Then he perceived that his arm and his hand

sohte, hwæt þæt wære. Þa gemette he his earm 7 his hond swa hale 7 swa gesunde, swa him næfre bryce ne daro gedon wære.

II.

Cap. 3. Ono ða se ilca cyning Oswald sona, þæs þe he rice onfeng, lufade 7 wilnade, þætte eall seo þeod, þe he fore wæs, mid þære gife þæs cristnan geleafan gelæred wære, þæs geleafan *ond*cyðnesse he swiðust onfeng in sigegefeohtum ellreordra cynna. Þa sende he to Scotta aldormonnu*m* ærendwrecan, betweoh þa ðe he longre tide wræcca wæs, 7 from þæm he fulwihtes geryno onfeng mid his þegnu*m*, þe him mid wæron: bæd he þæt heo him biscop onsende, þæs lare 7 þegnunge Ongolþeode, þe rehte, þæs Drihtenlecan geleafan gife leornade 7 þæm geryne onfenge fulwihtes bæðes. 7 heo him lustlice tigðodon 7 him biscop sendon; Aidan wæs haten micelre monþwærnesse 7 arfæstnisse 7 gemetfæstnisse monn; 7 he hæfde Godes ellenwodnisse 7 his lufan micle.

Þa he ða se biscop to þæm cyninge cwom, þa sealde he him stowe 7 biscopseðl in Lindesfarena ea, þær he seolfa bæd 7 wilnade. Ond he se cyning his monungum eaðmodlice 7 lustlice in eallu*m* þingum hyrsum wæs; 7 he Cristes cirican in his rice geornlice timbrede 7 rærde. 7 oft fægre wæfersyne gelomp, * þa se biscop codcunde lare lærde se ðe Englisc fullice ne cuðe, þæt he se cyning seolfa, se ðe
p. 526. Scyttisc fullice geleornad hæfde, his aldormonnum 7 his þegnum þære heofonlecan lare wæs walhstod geworden. Of þære tide monige cwoman dæghwamlicè of Scotta lande on Breotone; 7 on þam mægþum Angelþeoðe, þe Óswald ofer cyning wæs, mid micelre willsumnesse Cristes geleafan bodedon 7 lærdon. 7 þa þe sacerdhades wæron, him fulwihte þenedon. Þa wæron eac cyricean timbrede on monegum stowum, 7 þider gefeonde coman Angelcynnes folc Gódes word to gehýranne, þe hí bodedon 7 lærdon. 7 se cyning him gef 7 sealde æhte 7 land mynster to timbrianne; 7 Scottas lærdon geonge 7 ealde on reogollicne þéodscipe, forþon þe *þæt* munecas wæron, þa þe hider coman to læranne. Wæs eac munuc

l. 19. *þæt* T. *þ* O. B. *þ ðonn̄* Ca. *ðonne* not in C. I have therefore written *þa*. *codcunde* T. *god-* O. Ca. B.: cp. v. 9. l. 23. 25^{a} in T. ends

were as whole and sound, as if they had never suffered fracture or injury.

II.

Now as soon as king Oswald succeeded to the throne, it was his desire and will, that all the people he ruled over should be instructed in the grace of the christian faith, of which faith he most effectively received evidence in his victories over barbarous races. So he sent envoys to the chief men of Scotland, among whom he had long been an exile, and from whom he had received the sacrament of baptism, along with his followers: he begged them to send him a bishop, by whose teaching and ministry the English people, which he ruled, might learn the grace of God's faith and receive the sacrament of baptism. And they gladly assented and sent him a bishop named Aidan, a man of much gentleness, piety and moderation; and he had the zeal of God and love for him in a high degree. Now when the bishop came to the king, he assigned him a place and an episcopal residence in Lindisfarne, in accordance with his own prayer and desire. And the king humbly and cheerfully followed his admonitions in all points, and zealously set up and established Christ's church in his realm. And oft there was the fair spectacle, when the bishop was teaching the word of God, that as he was not quite familiar with English, the king himself, being fully acquainted with the Scots' tongue, acted as interpreter of the heavenly doctrine to his chief men and followers. At that time many came daily from the land of the Scots into Britain; and with great fervour preached and taught Christ's faith in the tribes of English under Oswald's rule. And those who belonged to the priesthood, administered baptism to them. And churches were also built in many places, and the people of English race flocked there eagerly to hear the word of God, which they preached and taught. And the king gave and bestowed on them possessions and land for the erection of a monastery; and Scots instructed young and old with monastic discipline. For those who had come to

dæghwamlice. 26ª begins *heo þurh eall.* Text from O. l. 25. *þe* (*e* out of *æ*) O. *ðe* Ca. *þe* B.

se ylca bysceop Aidan; wæs he sended of þam ealande 7 of þam mynstre þe Híí is nemned. Dæt mynster on eallum Norðscottum 7 eallum Peohta mynstrum mycelre tide ealldordom 7 heanesse onfeng; ac hwæþere hit Peohtas sealdan 7 geafon Scotta munucum, forþon þe hi ær þurh heora lare Cristes geleafan onfengon.

III.

Cap. 5. Ono fram þyssum ealande 7 fram þyssa munuca framscype tó lærenne Cristes geleafan Angelþeode wæs sended Aidan se bisceop. 7 he þa se bisceop, betwih oþre lare mannum to lyfigeanne, þa fægerestan bysene his gingrum forlet, þæt he wæs micelre forhæfdnesse 7 forwyrnednesse lifes. 7 *þæt* swiðust his lare gefultumade, *þæt* he oðre wisan ne lyfede nemne swa he lærde. Forþon he nowiht sohte ne ne lufade ða ðe þyses middangeardes wæron; ac eall þa woruldgód þa þe him fram cyningum 7 fram weligum mannum þysse worulde gegyfene wæron, sona he þa *gifeonde þearfum rehte 7 sealde, þa þe him togenes coman. Ferde he geond eall ge þurh mynsterstowe ge þurh folcstowe, ne hé on horses hrioge cuman wolde, nemne hwilc mare nyd abædde, ac he hit eall his fotum geeode. 7 swa hwær swa he com, 7 swa hwilce swa he geseah, swa rice swa heane, ðonne cyrde he to þam; gif hi ungeleafsume wæron, þonne laþode he hi *þæt* hi onfengan *þam* geryne Cristes geleafan; oððe gif hi geleafsume wæron, þæt he þa strangede 7 trymede *þæt* hi fæstlice on hiora geleafan áwunaden, 7 to ælmessum 7 to godra dæda fylignessum hí awehte ge mid wordum ge mid dædum.

7 swa swiðe his lif tosced fram ussa tida aswundenesse, þætte eall, þa þe mid hine eodan, ge bescorene ge læwede, on swa

l. 2. *hiíi* B. *his* O. Ca. After *Norðscottum* O has *7 eallum Norðscottum 7;* the words *e. n. 7* are struck through. l. 4. *þohtas* O. *peohtas* Ca. B. l. 6. *ono* (*no* on erasure, the *o* out of *d*) O. *and* Ca. .*a* (blank left for ornamented Þ) B. l. 7. *se* . . (two erased) O. *se* Ca. B. l. 10. *forwyr,dnesse* O. *-wyrnednesse* B. *-wyrdnesse* Ca. l. 15. *gife* B. *gyfeonde* C. *gyfende* O. Not in Ca. *s*. *dé* (one erasure) O. *sealde* Ca. B. l. 17. *nyd abœ,de* (*y* on erasure of *e*?) O. *nyd* and *abædde* Ca. *neodwære* B. *abædde* not in C. l. 18. *swa hwilce* (*7* above. *e* of *hwilce* on erasure) O. *7 swa hwylce* Ca. *7 swa hwylcne*

teach, were monks, as was the bishop Aidan himself. He was sent from the island and monastery which is called Iona. For a long time this monastery was the chief seat and ruling authority among all the North Scots and monasteries of the Picts. However the Picts assigned and made over this place to the monks of the Scots, because they had formerly received Christ's faith through their teaching.

III.

It was from this island and this brotherhood of monks that bishop Aidan was sent to preach Christ's faith to the English people. And among other instruction for men to live by, the bishop left to his disciples the fairest example, in that he was of great abstinence and continence of life. And this chiefly supported his teaching, that he lived just as he taught. For he did not seek or desire the things of this world; but all the worldly goods given him by kings and rich men in the world, he at once gladly distributed and made over to the poor who met him. He travelled everywhere through cities and country districts, and never would mount on horseback, except there were special need, but went about everywhere on foot. And wherever he came and whomsoever he saw, rich or lowly, he turned to them; if they were unbelievers, then he invited them to receive the mysteries of Christ's faith; and if they were believers, he confirmed them, exhorting them to continue steadfast in their faith; and by word and deed he stirred them up to almsgiving and the performance of good deeds. And his life so differed from the sluggishness of our time, that all who went with him, whether tonsured or lay, wherever they came, must either

B. l. 19. *hea.ne* (erasure of one) O. *heane* Ca. *heanne* B. l. 22. *þ hi* (*i* by rough erasure out of *e*) O. *þ hi* Ca. B. *áwunade* O. *awunedon* Ca. *áwunedon* B. l. 23. *fylgnessū hi aw.ęhte* (erasure of one after *w*. erasure of *a*? above *e*, tick below) O. *fylignessū he hi aweahte* Ca. *fylgnessū he hi arehte* B. *he* not in C. l. 25. *tosc.e.d* (*e* out of *æ*; before *d* erasure of *g*) O. *toscœgde* Ca. *tosced* B. *ussa* (*ss* on erasure, tick of *r* seen on *a*). *ussa* Ca. *ura* B. *as,undenesse* O. *aswundennysse* Ca. *-dennesse* B. l. 26. *læ.wede* (erasure of one) O. *lœwede* Ca. B.

hwilcre stowe swa hi cóman, þæt hi sceoldan oððe sealmas
p. 527. leornian oððe opre halige gewrito oððe þridde on halgum gebedum standan. Þis wæs his dæghwamlice weorc 7 eallra þara, þe mid hine wæron. 7 gif þæt wæs, þæt hwæþere séldon gelomp, þæt he to cyninges simble gelaþad wære, eode he in mid ane oððe mid twam his preosta, 7 þæs ðe hi hwon gereorde wæron, aras he hraðe, 7 ut eode to his gebede oððe to leornianne mid his geferum. Mid þyses halgan mannes bysenum wæron getrymede on þa tid gehwilce æfeste ge wæpnedmen ge wimmen, þæt hi him tó gewunan genaman, þæt heo þurh eall ger buton fiftig neahta ofer Eastron, þæt heo þy feorðan wicdæge 7 þy syxtan fæston to nones. Ond he þes biscop ricum monnum no for are ne for ege næfre forswigian nolde, gif heo on hwon agylton, ac he mid heardre þrea hiæ onspræc 7 heo gebette. Ond nænigum ricum men æfre ænig feoh sellan wolde, nemne mete 7 swæsendo þæm þe hine sohton; ac he ma ða gife 7 þa feoh þe him rice men sealdon, oðþe þearfum to áre gedælde oðþe to alysnesse gesealde þara monna, þe unrihtlice bebohte wæron. Ond he monigne þara, þe he mid weorþe alysde, him to discipulum genom, 7 þa æfter fæce to sacerhade mid his geornnisse getyde 7 gelærde.

Secgað men, þa Oswald se cyning of Scotta ealonde biscopes bede, se ðe him meahte 7 his þeode Cristes geleafan 7 fulwihte þegnian 7 healdan, þa wæs him sended ærest oðer biscop reðes modes monn. Mid þy he ða sum fæc Ongolþeode bodade 7 lærde, 7 he nowiht fromade in his lare, ne hine þæt folc lustlice geheran wolde, þa hwearf he eft in his eðel on Scottas 7 in gemote heora weotena sægde, þæt he nowiht fromian meahte in his lare þære þeode þe he sended wæs; forðon þa men wæron unatemedlice 7 heardes modes 7 elreordes. Ond heo þa hæfdon, þæs þe men sægdon, in þæm gemóte micle smeaunge 7 geþeahte, hwæt him to donne wære. Ond cwædon, þæt him leofre wære 7 heo wilnadon, þæt heo þære þeode hælo beon meahten, þe heo bedene wæron; ond swiðe

1. 2. *halig*, O. *halige* Ca. B. 1. 3. *his* (*is* on erasure) O. *his* Ca.: not in B. 1. 4. *þa*, *þe* O. *ðara þe* Ca. *þara ðe* B. *þara* not in C. *séldon* (one erased) O. *seldon* Ca. *seldñ* B. 1. 5. *eode*, *he* O. *eode he* Ca. B. 1. 6. *hi*

learn psalms or other holy writings, or thirdly devote themselves to holy prayer. This was his daily work and that of all with him. And if it happened, which was seldom, that he was invited to the king's table, he went there with one or two of his priests, and as soon as they had refreshed themselves a little, he at once arose and went out to his prayers, or to study with his clergy. By the example of this holy man at that time all religious people, whether men or women, were so confirmed, that it became their habit throughout the year, except during fifty days after Easter, to fast up to the ninth hour on the fourth and sixth days of the week. And this bishop never would either out of respect or fear be silent before rich men, when they did anything wrong, but addressed them with severe rebuke and corrected them. And he never would give any money to a sick man, but merely food and entertainment to those who visited him; but rather he either bestowed the gifts and money, given him by the rich, for the use of the poor, or made it over for the redemption of men, who had been unjustly sold. And many of those whom he redeemed with a price he took as his disciples, and by his zeal in training and instructing them, raised them after a time to the priesthood. It is said, when king Oswald begged for a bishop from the island of the Scots, who should minister and maintain Christ's faith and baptism among his people, there was first sent to him another bishop, a man of harsh temper. When he had been preaching and teaching the English for some time and effected nothing by his teaching, and the people were reluctant to hear him, he returned back to the Scots in his native land, and in an assembly of their councillors he declared, that he could not do anything by his teaching for the people to whom he was sent; because the men were untameable and of a hard and savage temper. And as it is related, they then had long discussion and deliberation in the assembly, as to what they should do. They declared, they preferred and desired to be the saving of the people, as they were entreated; and they grieved

hwon . . gereo,de (erasure of two) O. *hi hwon gereorde* Ca. B. l. 8. *þy.ses* (*s* erased) O. *þysses* Ca. *þyses* B. *get,ymede* O. *getrymede* Ca. B. l. 10. T. begins *heo* 26ª. l. 14. *hiæ* T. *hi* O. Ca. *him* B.

on þon sargedon, þæt heo þam lareowe onfon ne woldon, þe heo him to sendon. Ða sæt he Aidan in þæm gemote betweoh oðrum weotum; cwæð to þam biscope, siðþan he his word gehyrde: Me þynceð, broðor, cwæð he, þæt þu wære þæm ungelærdum monnum heardra, þonne hit riht wære, in þinre lare, ond þæt þu him ærest ne woldest æfter þæm apostolican þeodscype meolc drincan þære hnescan lare, oðþæt heo styccemælum aafedde mid þy Godes worde * þa þa fulfremedan 7 þa heredan Godes beboda onfón meahte. Ða heo þa weotan þas word gehyrdon, þa gecerdon heo heora eagan 7 heora *ond*wlitan ealle to him, 7 geornlice smeadon hwæt he cwæde. Ond þa heora ealra dome gedemed wæs, þæt he wære biscophade wyrðe, 7 þæt he to lareowe sended wære Ongolcynne, se ðe mid Godes gife swylc gescead funde in heora geþeahte. 7 heo swa dydon: hine to biscope gehalgedon, ond Oswalde þam cyninge heora freonde to lareowe onsendan. Þa he þa biscophade onfongen hæfde, swa swa he ær mid þa metgunge þæs gesceades funden hæfde, swa he æfter fæce mid oðrum gastlicum mægenum gefrætwed æteawde.

IV.

p. 528. Cap. 6. Ono mid ðysses biscopes lare Oswald mid Ongolþeode, þe he ofer cyning wæs, gelæred wæs, þætte nales þæt an þæt he æt him geleornade, þæt he þa uplican ricu gehyhte heofona to onfonne, ac swelce eac eorðlico rico ma þonne ænig his eldrena from þæm ilcan Gode onfenge, þe heofon 7 eorþan gescop. Forðon eall Breotone cyn 7 mægðe, þa seondon on feower gereordo todæled, þæt is Bretta 7 Peohta 7 Scotta 7 Ongla, in onwald onfeng. Ond þeah þe he mid þa heanisse þæs eorðlican rices swa ahefen wære, nohte þon læs he, þæt is wundor to cweðanne, þearfum 7 elþeodigum symle eaðmod 7 fremsum 7 rummód wæs.

Secgað men, þæt þæt gelumpe in sume tid þy halgan Eastordæge, þæt he mid þy foresprecenan biscope sæte æt his undernswæsendum 7 him wæs hefen beod to; 7 þær stod micel seolfren disc on, ond

l. 8. All MSS. *þæt þa*: to amend the construction O. Ca. insert *þu* after *oððæt*; B. puts in *beon* after *afedde*, reading also *oð þ ðe þe hi*. In O. the *u* of *þu* is on an erasure and the *u* is not first hand. l. 11. *dome* B. *dom* T.

very much at their refusal to receive the teacher sent to them. Now Aidan sat in the assembly among the other councillors; and said to the bishop on hearing his words: 'I think, brother,' said he, 'you were in your teaching harder with those illiterate men than was right, and that you would not, in accordance with the apostolical discipline, first give them to drink the milk of gentle doctrine, till they being fed gradually with the word of God, might receive then the perfect and glorious ordinances of God.' Now when the council heard these words, they turned their eyes and faces all to him, and earnestly considered what he said. And it was decided by the judgment of all, that he was worthy of the episcopate, and that he should be sent as teacher to the English, as he by God's grace had exhibited such discretion at their deliberations. And they did so: they consecrated him bishop, and sent him as teacher to their friend king Oswald. Now when he received the episcopate, just as he had previously succeeded by the temperance of his discretion, so after a time he showed himself adorned with other spiritual virtues.

IV.

Now through this bishop's teaching Oswald, with the English under him, was instructed, and not only learnt from him to entertain hopes of a heavenly kingdom, but also received an earthly kingdom beyond any of his forefathers, from that same God who created heaven and earth. For all the race and tribes of Britain, which are divided into four languages, namely those of the Britons, and Picts and Scots and Angles, passed under his authority. And though he was so exalted with the elevation of his earthly kingdom, none the less, wonderful to relate, he was ever humble and helpful and liberal to poor men and foreigners. It is said, that once, on the holy Easter day, he happened to be sitting with the aforesaid bishop at his early meal, and the table was set before him; and on it stood a large silver dish filled with

dóme O. Ca. l. 12. *ongon-* T. *óngel-* O. *angel-* Ca. B. l. 17. *he* O. Ca. B. *he fie* (sic) T. = *eft?* l. 20. first *wæs* O. Ca. B., not in T. l. 24. *is* O. Ca. B., not in T.

se wæs mid cynelicum mettum gefylled. Ond se biscop nom hlaf 7 oletsode 7 þæm cyninge sealde. Þa eode semninga his þegna sum inn, þæm he hæfde beboden þæt he scolde þearfena 7 earmra monna ærendo wreccan, *ond* sægde þæm cyninge þæt æghwonan cwome micel menigeo þearfena, þæt se weorðig ful sæte 7 hine ælmessan bædon. Þa het se cyning sona neoman þone mete 7 þa swæsendo, þe him to aseted wæs, 7 beran þam þearfum; 7 eac bebead, þæt mon þone disc tobræce to styccum 7 þæm þearfum gedælde. Þa se biscop þæt þa geseah, þe him big sæt, þa licode him seo arfæste dæd þæs cyninges; genom hine þa big þære swiðran honda 7 cyste, 7 þus cwæð: Ne forealdige þeos hond æfre. Þæt eac swa æfter þam willan his bletsunge geworden wæs. Forðon, þa hine mon eft in gefeohte slog, þa gelomp þætte him mon aheow þa hond mid þy earme of þæm lichoman; 7 nu gena oð þis ungebrosnade wuniað. Brohte heo mon in þa cynelecan burg, þe mon nemneð Bebbanburg; 7 þær in seolfrene cyste arweorðlice gehealdene syndon. Swelce eac mid þisses cyninges geornisse þa twa mægða Norðhymbra, Dere 7 Beornice, þa ðe oð þæt him betweoh ungeþwære 7 ungesibbe wæron, in ane sibbe 7 in án folc geteoh 7 geþwærade. Wæs he Oswald Eadwines nefa þæs æðelan cyninges, his sweostor sunu. Wæs þæt þæs wyrðe þæt swa æðele foregenga swylcne yrfeweard his æfæstnisse 7 his rices hæfde of his seolfes mægsibbe.

V.

p. 529. Cap. 7. Dære tide ða Westseaxna þeod mid Cynegelse heora cyninge Cristes geleafan onfengon. Bodade him 7 lærde Godes word Birinus biscop, se mid Honorius geþeahte þæs papan cwom in Breotone. Gehet he him, þæt he wolde in þam fyrrestum dælum Ongolcynnes, þær nænig lar ær cwom, þa sæd sawan þæs halgan geleafan. Þa het se papa hine to biscope gehalgian, 7 hine on Breotone sende. Þa com he ǽ rest upp in Westseaxum 7 heo þær hæðne gemette, þa ðuhte him nyttre 7 betre, þæt he ðær Godes word bodade 7 lærde, þonne he fyrr in Breotone feran scolde. *Ond* he ða swa dyde: lærde þær godcunde lare 7 þone cyning to Cristes geleafan gecerde, 7 hine

royal dainties. And the bishop took bread and blessed and gave it to the king. Then suddenly came in one of his attendants, whom he had directed to take charge of the poor and needy, and he told the king, that on all sides there was flocking a great crowd of the poor, so that the street was full of them sitting and begging for alms. Then at once the king bade the meat and the victuals set before him to be taken and carried to the poor, and also ordered the dish to be broken in pieces and distributed to them. When the bishop, who sat by him, saw this, he was pleased with the king's pious action, took him by the right hand, kissed it and said: 'May this hand never grow old.' And this was fulfilled also in accordance with the desire in his benediction. For when he was afterwards slain in battle, it so happened that they cut off the hand with the arm from the body; and they still remain undecayed to this day. These were carried to the royal city called Bamborough, and are there kept with reverence in a silver box. By the efforts of their king also the two provinces of Northumbria, Deira and Bernicia, which till then had been disunited and unfriendly to one another, were drawn together and united into one league and one people. This Oswald was nephew of the noble king Eadwine, being his sister's son. It was meet that so noble a predecessor should have out of his own kindred such an inheritor of his piety and dominions.

V.

At that time the people of the West Saxons with their king Cynegels received the faith of Christ. Bishop Birinus preached and taught them God's word, who came to Britain by advice of pope Honorius. He promised him to sow the seed of the holy faith in the most remote parts of England, where no teaching had ever penetrated before. Then the pope directed him to be consecrated as bishop and sent him to Britain. When he landed first in Wessex and found the people there heathen, he thought it more useful and better to preach and teach God's word there, than to travel further into Britain. And he did so: he taught God's word there and converted the king to Christ's faith, and catechized him

gecristnade, 7 hine eft æfter fæce mid fulwihtes bæðe aþwoh mid his þeode Westseaxum. Þa gelomp in seolfan tid, þa mon þone cyning fulwade, ðæt þær wæs se halgesta 7 se sigefæsta cyning Norðanhymbra Oswald ondweard. Hæfde he his dohtor him to wife beweddad. Þa onfeng he him 7 nom æt fulwihte bæðe 7 æt þæs biscopes honda þære godcundan þegnunge him to godsuna. Ða sealdon 7 gefon þa cyningas begen þæm biscope eardungstowe 7 biscopseðl on Dorcotceastre. Ond he þær se biscop Gode lifde 7 circan worhte 7 halgade; 7 mid his arfæste gewinne monig folc to Drihtne gecerde. Ond he þær his dagas geendade 7 to Drihtne ferde, 7 in þære ilcan ceastre bebyrged wæs. Ond eft æfter monegum gearum Hædde biscop heht his lichoman upadón 7 lædan to Wintaceastre, 7 in cirican þara eadigra apostola Petrus 7 Paulus arwyrðlice geseted is.

Æfter þissum þa forðferde Cynegils se cyning, 7 his sunu Cænwalh feng to his rice. Se wiðsoc, þæt he geleafan onfenge 7 þæm geryne þæs heofonlican cyninges; ond sona æfter medmiclum fæce þa mealt forleas þæs eorðlican rices. Forlet he án, Pendan swustor, þa he hæfde ær him to wife broht, nom him oðer wiif. Þa teah Penda hine fyrd on 7 here, 7 hine his rices benom. Ða gewat he to Eastengla cyninge, se wæs Anna haten. Mid þon he þreo ger wæs wrecca, 7 he þær onget soðfæstnisse geleafan 7 onfeng 7 gefulwad wæs Forðon þe se cyning, þe he mid wrecca wæs, wæs god wæpnedmon 7 goodes tudres 7 haliges gesælig, swa we æft hereæfter ongitan magon.

Mid þy þe he eft Cænwalh on his rice geseted wæs, þa com in Westseaxe sum biscop of Ibernia Scotta ealonde, þæs noma wæs Ægelberht. Wæs he Gallia cynnes; ac for leornunge haligra gewreota he wæs micelre tide in Ibernia Scotta ealonde wuniende. Ond he þa wilsumlice hine geþeodde to þæm cyninge 7 hine godcunde lare lærde. Þa he þa se cyning his gelærednesse 7 his geornfulnisse geseah, bæd he hine, þæt he gewunade in his þeode 7 heora biscop
p. 530. wære: 7 he him wolde arlic biscopseðl gesceawian. Ond he his benum geþafode; 7 he monig ger þære ilcan þeode on biscoplicum onwealde fore wæs. Ða æt nehstan se cyning, se ðe Seaxna gereorde

l. 21. *he* T. *he tó* O. *he to* Ca. B. C. l. 28. *-brht* T. *-berht* O. Ca. *-by-* B.

and, after a time, washed him in the laver of baptism, with his people the West Saxons. It so happened that at the very time of the king's baptism, Oswald, the saintly and victorious king of Northumbria, was present. He had betrothed his daughter to Cynegils; and he received and took him as godson at the font, after the sacred administration by the bishop's hands. Then the kings jointly made over and gave to the bishop a dwelling and episcopal seat at Dorchester-on-Thames. And the bishop lived there to God and built and consecrated a church; and by his pious labours converted much people to the Lord. And there he ended his days, and departing to the Lord was buried in that town. But many years later bishop Hædde directed his body to be taken up and brought to Winchester, and it was buried with honour within the church of the blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. After this king Cynegils died, and his son Cænwalh succeeded to the throne. He refused to receive the faith and sacraments of the Heavenly King; and shortly after he lost the dominion of his earthly kingdom. He abandoned one wife, sister of Penda, whom he had previously wedded, and took another wife. Then Penda led his troops and a host against him, and deprived him of his throne. And he departed to the king of the East Angles named Anna, and with him remained in exile three years, and he there learnt the true faith, received it and was baptized. For the king, at whose court he was an exile, was a good man, blessed with goodly and holy offspring, as we shall learn hereafter. When Cænwalh was restored to his kingdom, there came to Wessex from Ireland, the island of the Scots, a bishop named Ægelberht. He was of Gallic origin, but had lived long in Ireland to study the holy scriptures. And he readily joined the king and instructed him in God's word. When the king perceived his learning and zeal, he prayed him to remain among his people and be their bishop, promising to provide a bishop's seat suitable to his rank. And he assented to his request, and for many years presided with episcopal authority over that people. At last the king, who knew the Saxon tongue only,

án cuðe, wæs aðroten his elreordre spræce: aspon þa in Westseaxe oðerne biscop, se ðe his gereorde cuðe: se wæs Wine haten, 7 se wæs in Gallia rice gehalgod. Ond he þa todælde in twa biscopscire Westseaxna mægðe, *ond* þæm Wine gesealde biscopseðl in Wintaceastre. Þa wæs Ægelberht swiðe abolgen, forþon se cyning buton his geþeahte swa dyde; gewat þa of Breotone 7 hwearf eft in his agene leode in Gallia rice. *Ond* þær he onfeng his agenre ceastre bisscopscire, Parisiace hatte; 7 he þær ald 7 godra dæda ful forðferde. Ða wæs æfter noht monegum gearum *æfter* his onweggewitenesse of Breotone, þætte Wine wæs adrifen from þæm ilcan cyninge of his biscopseðle. Þa gewat he to Wulfhere Mercna cyninge; ond mid feó gebohte æt him þæt biscopseðl æt Lundenceastre, 7 his biscop wæs oð his daga ende. Ond swa Westseaxna mægð micelre tide wæs buton biscope.

Þære seolfan tide þa eac swelce se foresprecena cyning þære þeode mid þam hefigestum wonungum his ríces gelomlice from his feondum swenced wæs. Ða cwom him æt nehstan to gemynde, þæt hine ær his getreowleasnis of his rice adraf, ond eft, þa he Cristes geleafan onget, þæt he his rice onfeng. 7 þa eac ongeat *þæt* he hæfde on þweorh gedon, þætte seo mægð wæs buton bisscope, 7 þæt heo ætgædre mid þy godcundan fultome forlæten wæs. Forðon he þa sende ærendwracan in Gallia rice to Ægelberhte þæm biscope, 7 mid eaðmodre þingunge 7 bene hine bæd, þæt he hwurfe to þæm biscopseðle his þeode. Þa ladode he hine 7 cwæð, þæt he ne meahte hider cuman, forðon he onfongen hæfde his agenre ceastre bisscopscire. Ond hwæðre for his geornlicum benum, þæt he him fultom sohte, ond he him sende to Leutherium mæssepreost his nefan. Cwæð þæt he þone meahte, gif he wolde, him to biscope gehadigan, 7 he hine þæs wyrðne wisse on his lifes geearnungum. *Ond* sona wæs from þæm cyninge, 7 from eallum his leodum arwyrðlice onfongen. Ond þa bædon Theodorum þone þe þa wæs ærcebiscop Contwareburge cirican, þæt he hine to biscope gehalgode. *Ond* he þa swa dyde; gehalgode hine in þære ilcan ceastre; ond he ana æfter alles seonoðes

l. 11. *cyninige* T. *cyninge* O. Ca. B. C. l. 16. *þam* B, Ca. O. *þære* T. l. 19. *he* to *þæt* wanting in T.; and also in B. Text from O. Ca. l. 27. *send, to* T. *onsende to* Ca. B. O. (*tó*).

got tired of his foreign speech, and invited into Wessex another bishop acquainted with his language, who was called Wine and had been consecrated in Gaul. And the king then divided Wessex into two bishopries, and assigned to Wine the episcopal seat at Winchester. Then Ægelberht was very angry, because the king acted without his advice; he left Britain and returned to his own people in Gaul. And he there received the bishopric of his own town, which was called Paris; and there he departed old and full of good deeds. Then a few years after his departure from Britain, Wine was expelled from his episcopal seat by the same king. So he went to Wulfhere, king of Mercia, and with money bought from him the episcopal seat in London, and was his bishop to the end of his days. And so the province of Wessex was long without a bishop. At the same time also the aforesaid king of this people frequently suffered severe damage to his dominions at the hands of his enemies. Then at last he recollected, that his want of faith formerly caused his expulsion, and that on receiving the faith of Christ he recovered the throne. So he also saw, that by his perverse conduct his land was without a bishop, and at the same time deprived of the divine support. So he sent envoys to bishop Ægelberht in Gaul, and with humble supplication and petition prayed him to return to the episcopal seat among his people. But the other excused himself, saying that he could not come here, as he had received the bishopric of his own town. And yet because of his earnest prayers in seeking his support, he also sent him his nephew the priest Leutherius. He said that he might, if he would, ordain him as bishop, and that he knew him to be worthy of the position by his meritorious life. And he was at once received with honour by the king and all his people. And they requested Theodore, then archbishop of the church of Canterbury, to consecrate him as bishop. And he did so; he consecrated him in that very town; and he, as sole bishop, with the sanction of the

dome monig ger þone biscophad mid micle gerece heold 7 ræhte Westseaxna þeode.

VI.

p. 531. Cap. 8. Þa wæs ymb syx hund wintra 7 feowertig wintra from Drihtnes menniscnesse, þætte Eadbald Contwara cyning leorde of þissum life; ond Erconberht his sunu feng to his rice, 7 þæt eaðlice heold 7 steorde feower 7 twentig wintra 7 sumne monað. Þes cyning ærest Ongolcyninga in eallum his rice he heht deofolgild toweorpan 7 fæstlice forlætan; *ond* swelce eac mid his ealdorlicnesse bebead, þæt feowertiglice fæsten healden beon ær Eastrum bi witerædenne. Þæs cyninges dohtor Ercongotæ wæs micelra mægena fæmne, swa þæt swa æðelum aldre gerás. Wæs heo seo fæmne Drihtne þeowiende in þæm mynstre, þe in Fronclonde wæs getimbred from þære æðelan abbudessan, þe Fara hatte, in þære stowe þe cweden is in Briige. Forðon in þa tíd þa get ne wæron monig mynster getimbred in Ongolþeode, ond forðon monige gewunedon of Breotone for intingan munuclifes secan Froncna mynster 7 Gallia. Swelce eac cyningas 7 rice men sendon heora dohtor þider to læranne 7 to geþeodenne þæm heofonlican brydguman, *ond* swiþust in þissum mynstrum in Briige 7 in Caale 7 in Andelegum. Betweoh þa wæs Sæðryð Annan wiifes dohtor Eastengla cyninges, 7 þæs ylcan cyninges gecyndelice dohtor Æðelberg. Æghwæðer heora wæs elþeodig þær, 7 hwæðre for heora lifes geearnunge geþungon, þæt heo buu wæron abbudissan in Briige þam mynstre. Þæs ilcan cyninges seo yldre dohtor Sæburg wæs Erconberhtes wiif Contwara cyninges; hæfde heo dohtor þa Ercongotan, bi ðære we nu syndon sprecende.

Þisse fæmnan Gode gehalgodre monig weorc gastlicra mægena 7 monig tacen heofonlicra wundra from þæm bigengum þære stowe gewuniað oð þisne ondweardan dæg sægd beon. Ac we nu sculon hrædlice hwæthwugu be hire forðfore anre secgan, hu heo þæt heofonlice rice gesohte. Ona þa ðæm dæge nealæhte hire geceg- nesse of þissum life, þa ongon heo ymbgongan þa hus þyses

l. 20. *eastengla* to *dohtor* not in T. Text from O. Ca. B. l. 21. *for,lifes* T. *for hcora lifes* Ca. O. (*hiora*). B. *for heora* (only).

whole synod for many years held and directed the bishopric of Wessex with much authority.

VI.

Now about 640 years after our Lord's incarnation Eadbald, king of Canterbury, departed this life; and Erconberht his son succeeded to his dominions, which he nobly swayed and directed for twenty-four years and a few months. He was the first among the kings of England, who ordered the idols to be overthrown and finally abandoned throughout all his kingdom; and by his authority he also directed the forty days' fast to be observed before Easter under fear of penalty. The king's daughter Ercongote was a lady of great virtues, as befitted such noble descent. She was a servant of the Lord in the convent built in France, by the noble abbess called Fara, at the place called Brie. For at that time but few monasteries had as yet been erected in England, and accordingly it was usual for many to leave Britain and go to monasteries in France and Gaul for the sake of monastic life. Kings also and rich men sent their daughters there, to be educated and to be espoused to the heavenly bridegroom, and above all at these monasteries, Brie, Chelles, and Andely. Among these was Sæthryth, daughter of the wife of Anna king of the East Angles, and Æthelberg the king's own daughter by birth. Both of these were foreigners there, and still from their meritorious life both were advanced to the position of abbess at the monastery in Brie. The king's elder daughter Sæburg was wife of Erconberht, king of Canterbury, and had a daughter Ercongote, about whom we shall now speak. The inhabitants of this place are wont to relate, up to the present day, many works of spiritual virtue and many signs of heavenly miracles wrought by this virgin hallowed to God. But we now shall rapidly touch on some points concerning her death only, and the manner of her ascent to the heavenly kingdom. Now when the day was at hand that she should be called from this life, she began to go round the dwellings of the infirm servants of

mynstres þara untrumra Cristes þeowna, 7 swiðust þa þe gelyfdre eldo wæron, oðþe in gecorenisse heora þeowa mærran 7 betran wæron. Ond heo ealle þa eaðmodlice hire gebeodo bæd, 7 him cyðde 7 sægde, þæt heo geleornade on onwrignesse, þæt hire endedæg 7 hire forðfore wære swiðe neah. Sægde heo him, *þæt* seo onwrigenis þyslic wære; cwæð, þæt heo gesęge micelne þreat hwittra monna 7 fægerra in þæt ilce mynster ingongan, ond þæt heo þa hy frugne, hwæt heo sohten oððe hwæt heo þider wolden. Ondswaredon hy 7 cwædon, þæt heo to þon þider sende wæron,
p. 532. þæt heo sceolden þæt gyldne mynet mid him geneoman, þætte þider of Cent cwom. Þa wæs in þære seol̃an nihte þæm ytmæstan dæle, þæt is þa hit dagian ongon, þæt heo þa þeostru þisses ondweardan middangeardes oferstag, 7 to þæm uplecan leohte leorde heofona rices. Ond monige þara broðra þæs ylcan mynstres þara þe in oðrum husum wæron, sægdon, þæt heo swutolice engla song geherdon, ge eac swég gehyrdon swa swa micelre mengu in þæt mynster gongan. Ond heo sona arison 7 ut eodon; woldon gewitan hwæt þæt wære. Þa gesegon heo micel leoht heofonlic þær cuman. Þæt leoht þa halgan sawle from þæm bendum þæs lichoman onlesde, 7 to ðæm ecan gefean þæs heofonlican eðles gelædde. Ætecton heo eac 7 sægdon oðero wundro, þa ðe godcundlic æteawed wæron in þæm ilcan mynstre, þa ðe nu to long to secgenne syndon. Þa wæs bebyrged se lichoma þære arwyrðan fæmnan 7 þære Cristes bryde in Sc̄e Stephanes cirican þæs ærestan 7 þæs eadgan martires. Ða þuhte þam broðrum þy þriddan dæge, þæs þe heo bebyrged wæs, þæt heo wolden þone stan, þe seo byrgen mid bewrigen wæs, hear 7 gerisenlicor in þære ilcan stówe gesettan. Þa hy þa hine onweg dydon, þa cwom of inneweardre þære byrgenne swa micel swetnisse stenc, þætte eallum þam higum þuhte, þe þær ætstodon, swa swa mon hordærn ontynde † ðe balsami 7 þara deorwyrðestena wyrta 7 þara swetestena þara þe in middangearde wæron.

Swelce eac hire modrige Æðelberg Gode seo leofe, be þære we

l. 1. *gelyfede* T. *gelyfed.re* (erasure of one) O. *gelyfedre* Ca. B. l. 18. *hwæt* O. Ca. B., not in T. *cman* T. *cuman* O. Ca. B. l. 30. *ðe balsami* T.

Christ in this monastery, and especially if they were of advanced age, or remarkable and superior for the excellence of their conduct. And she then humbly asked the prayers of all, and made known to them in words, that she had learnt by revelation her last day and her departure to be close at hand. She told them the revelation was on this wise; she said, she saw a great company of men white and fair enter the monastery, and she asked, what they sought or wanted there. They replied and said, that they were sent there to fetch the golden coin, that had come there from Kent. Now in the last hours of the same night, when daybreak began, she rose above the darkness of this present world and passed to the light of the heavenly kingdom above. And many of the brethren of this monastery, who were in other dwellings, said that they clearly heard the song of angels, and heard too a noise as it were of a great multitude entering the monastery. And they arose at once and went out, desiring to know what that was. And they saw a great light in the heaven approaching. This light released the holy soul from the fetters of the body, and led it to the eternal joys of the heavenly home. They further told other wonders, divinely displayed at the same monastery, which are too long to be now related. Then the body of this honoured virgin and bride of Christ was buried in the church of St. Stephen the first and blessed martyr. Now the third day after her burial the brethren thought, they would set the stone, with which the tomb was covered, in a higher and more suitable position at the same spot. On their removing it, there came from within the tomb such a sweet odour, that to all of that household who stood by, it seemed as if a storehouse of balsam and of the most valuable and sweetest spices in the world had been opened. Also her aunt Æthelberg, beloved of God, of whom we spoke before, maintained the glory of per-

(=opobalsami). *þa balsami* O. Ca. In B. the construction is altered *þe balsamū on wære 7 ða* etc. l. 33. *modrie* T. *modri.e* (one erased) O. *moddrige* Ca. *modrige* B.

ær sægdon, þæt wuldor hire ecre clænnisse 7 mægðhades in micelre forhæfdnesse hire lichoman geheold. Hwylc hire mægen wære, ma æfter hire deaðe gecyðed wæs. Þa heo abbudesse wæs, ongon heo on hire mynstre cirican timbran in áre ealra þara haligra apostola, in þære heo wilnade þæt hire lichoma bebyrged wære. Ac þa ðæt weorc þære cirican huhugu healf wæs geworht, þa wæs heo mid deaðe forgripen, ær heo hit geendian moste; 7 in þære seolfan stowe þære cirican, þær heo wilnade, bebyrged wæs. Þa wæs æfter hire deaðe, þæt þa broðor oðerra weorca swiður gemdon, 7 þisse cirican timbro forlæton seofon gear. Ða þa seofon ger gefylled wæron, þa gesetton heo fæstlice fore unmætnisse þæs gewinnes, þæt heo eallinga forlete þa getimbro þisse cirican. 7 þære abbuddyssan ban upp adydan of þære stowe, 7 on oþre cyricean, þe fullice getimbred 7 gehalgod wære, gesetton. Ond heo þa ontyndon hire byrgenne, ond hire lichoman gemetton swa ungewemmedne ond swa gesundne, swa swa heo wæs from gebrosnunge lichomlicre wilnunge clæne 7 unwemme. Ond heo þa eft þone lichoman onþwógon 7 mid oðre hrægle gegyredon, 7 hine gesetton in cirican þæs eadigan martires Sce Stephanus. Þære abbudessan gemynddæg oð þas tid in þære stówe in miclum wuldre weorðad is, þy dæge þe nemned is Nonarum Iuliarum.

VII.

p. 533. Cap. 9. Hæfde Oswald se cristnesta cyning Norðanhymbra nigon gear ríce, togeteledum þy geare þe seo wildeorlice arleasnis Bretta cyninges 7 seo awegoncernis from Cristes geleafan Ongelcyninga onscuniendlic wæs, swa swa we ær beforan sægdon. Þa se ryne þyssa geara gefylled wæs, slog mon Oswald. Wæs hefig gefeoht 7 micel gefremed from þæm ilcan hæðnan cyninge 7 þære hæðnan þeode Mercna, from þæm his foregenga eac Eadwine ofslegen wæs, in þære stowe þe nemned is Maserfeld. Hæfde he Oswald lichomlicre yldo seofon 7 þritig wintra, þa hine mon slóg þy fiftan dæge Agustus monðes.

l. 12. 7 *þære* to *cyricean* wanting in T. Text from O. (*abbuddyssan*, ban). Ca. (*bán; adydon; oðre cyrican.*) B. (*abbuddessan bán; ádon; ðóre cyrcan.*)

petual purity and virginity with great continence. What her virtue was, was more fully made known after her death. While abbess she began to build a church in her monastery in honour of all the holy apostles, in which she wished her body to be buried. But as the work on the church was about half completed, she was carried off by death, before she could finish it; and she was buried in the part of the church, where she desired. Then after her death, the brethren were more occupied with other works, and for seven years neglected the erection of the church. At the end of the seven years, they then finally resolved to give up altogether the construction of the church, owing to the immense labour. So they took up the bones of the abbess from that place, and laid them in another church, which was completed and consecrated. And then they opened her tomb, and found her body as undecayed and as sound, as it was pure and undefiled by the corruption of bodily desire. And they washed the body afresh and wrapped it in another shroud, and laid it in the church of the blessed martyr St. Stephen. And the festival of the abbess to this time is celebrated with much pomp at that spot, on the 15th of July.

VII.

Oswald, the most christian king of Northumbria, reigned for nine years, if we reckon in the year, which was disgraced by the savage impiety of the king of the Britons and the apostasy of the English kings from Christ's faith, as we related above. When the course of these years was fulfilled, Oswald was slain. There was a great and bloody battle, brought on by the same heathen king and by the heathen people of Mercia, by whom his predecessor Eadwine was slain, in the place which is called Maserfield. Oswald was in the thirty-eighth year of his earthly life, when he was slain on the fifth day of August. What this king's faith and devotion to God

Hwelc þæs cyninges geleafa 7 modes wilsumnis in Gód wære, þæt æfter his deaðe mid mægena wundrum wæs gecyðed. Forðon in þære stowe, þe he for his eðle mid his leodum cómpade 7 from þæm hæðnum ofslegen wæs, oð þeosne *ond*weardan dæg þæt þær hælo untrumra monna 7 neata mærsodon seondon. Ðonon gelomp þætte þa seolfan moldan, þær his lichoma gefeol, monige men neomende wæron, 7 in wæter dydon 7 sealdon heora untrumum monnum 7 neatum drincan; 7 him sona wél wæs. *Ond* þæt men to þon gelomlice dydon sticcemælum, þæt heo þa moldon namon, oð þæt þær wæs deop seað adolfen, þætte wæpnedmon meahte oð his sweoran inn stondan. Ne þæt swiðe to wundrienne is, þeah þe in þære stowe his deaðes untrume hælo onfenge, se symle, mid þy þe he lifde, þearfum 7 untrumum árode 7 ælmessan sealde, 7 heora helpend wæs on heora sáre. Ond monig wundor mægena earon sægd, þæt in þære stowe gelumpon ge bi ðære moldan, þa ðe in þære stowe genumene wæron. Ac us genihtsumað nu þæt we tuu án oðþe þreo gehyran.

Gelomp noht micelre tide æfter his slege, þætte sum man rad be þære stowe. Þa ongon his hors semninga wergian 7 gestondan, 7 his heafod on eorðan hylde; 7 þa fáam of þæm muðe eode, 7 þæt unmæte sáar weox 7 miclade, oþþæt hit on eorðan hreas. Þa lihte se eoredmonn 7 þæt gebæte of ateah, 7 þær hwile bád, hwonne his horse bet wurde oðþe he hit þær deád forlete. Þa wæs hit longe mid hefige sáre swiðe swenced 7 in missenlice dælas hit wond 7 þræste, þa semniga becwom hit in þa stowe, þær se gemyngoda cyning ofslegen wæs. Ne wæs þa elden, þætte þæt sáar gestilled wæs; 7 hit blonn from unhalum styrenessum þara leoma, 7 þy gewunelican þeawe horsa æfter werignesse ongon wealwian, 7 on æghwæðre siidan hit gelomlice oferwearp: 7 sona aras þurh eall hal 7 gesund, 7 ongon giferlice þæt gærs etan.

Þa he ða se mon þæt geseah, þa onget he mid scearpre gleawnisse
p. 534. hwæthwugu wundorlicre halignesse in þære stówe beon, þær his hors swa hraðe gehæled wæs. Ond he þær tacen asette 7 þa stowe gemearcode, 7 on his hors hleop 7 rad þider he ær mynte. Þa he ða cwom to þæm men þe he secan wolde, þa gemette he þær

l. 21. *hi* T. *hit* O. Ca. B.

were, was manifested after his death by miraculous wonders. For at the spot, where he with his people fought for his land and was slain by the heathen, up to this present day, there are notable cures of sick men and animals. Hence it happened that the very clay, where his body fell, was carried away by many, and being put into water was given to sick men or animals to drink; and they at once recovered. And this was done gradually so often, that the clay was removed, till a deep pit was hollowed out, in which a man might stand up to his neck. It is no great marvel, that the sick were cured at the place of his death, seeing that he ever in life regarded the poor and sick, giving them alms and assisting them in their suffering. And many miraculous wonders are said to have taken place at that spot and with the clay taken from it. But it is now enough for us to hear two or three only. Not long after he was slain, a man happened to be riding past the place. Suddenly his horse began to tire and stand still, and hung its head to the ground; foam came from its mouth, and violent pains grew and increased, till it fell to the ground. The rider dismounting took off the bridle and waited awhile there, till his horse should get better or he should leave it there dead. After suffering long and severely from violent pain and rolling and twisting in every direction, suddenly it came to the spot, where the aforesaid king was slain. Without delay, the pain was relieved; and it ceased to move its limbs in suffering, and in the usual manner of horses after fatigue began to roll, and threw itself repeatedly from side to side: and soon arose thoroughly whole and sound, and began to eat the grass greedily. When the man saw this, he understood by keen discernment that there was some wonderful sanctity in the spot, where his horse was so rapidly cured. So he set up a sign and marked the spot, and jumping on his horse rode to the place he had previously intended. And on coming to the person he wished

fæmnan; wæs nift þæs higna aldres þe he sohte; wæs mid longre aðle legeres swiðe gehefigad. Þa ongunnon þa higan beforan him seofian be þære grimman untrymnesse þære fæmnan, þa ongon he secgan be þære stowe, þær his hors gehæled wæs. Hwæt hy gearwodon sona wægn 7 asettan þa fæmnan inn 7 læddon to þære stówe, 7 heo þær asetton. Þa heo þa on þære stowe geseted wæs, ða wæs heo werig; onslep þær hwon. Sona þæs þe heo onwóóc, þa gefelde heo, þæt heo wæs gehæled from hire lichoman untrymnesse, 7 hire wætres bæd, 7 heo þwóh 7 hire feax gerædde, 7 heo mid scytan bisweop 7 mid þæm monnum, þe heo þider læddon, on hire fotum hál 7 gesund ham hwearf 7 eode.

VIII.

Cap. 10. Swylce eac in ða ilcan tid cwom oðer mon sum: sægdon men þæt he wære Bretta leod. Ferde he be þære ilcan stowe, in þære *þæt* foresprecene gefeoht geworden wæs. Þa geseah he ánre stowe fæc þæm oðrum felda grenra 7 fægera. Ða ongon he mid gleawe mode þencan 7 ræsian, þætte nænig oðer intinga wære þære stowe grennis 7 fægernis, nemne þæt þær sum *haligra mon hwylchwugu þam oðrum weorode ofslegen wære. Genom þa þære moldan dæl in þære stowe, gebond in his sceate, þohte þæt seo ilce molde to læcedome 7 to hælo geweorðan meahte untrumra monna: ond he eft forðeode in his weg. Þa cwom he to sumum huse in æfentiid,* 7 eode in þæt hus, þær þæt ham eall to symble gesomnod wæs. Wæs he onfongen from þam hlaforde þæs huses, 7 him mon setl tæhte, 7 he sæt mid him æt þæm symble. Áheng he þone sceat mid þære moldan, þe he brohte, on ane studu þæs wages. Wæs micel fýr onæled on middum þam húse. Mid þy heo þa longe symbledon 7 druncne wæron, 7 þa spearcan up flugon in þæs huses hróf, se wæs mid gyrdum awunden 7 mid þéce beþeaht, þa gelomp þæt þæt hus eall wæs in fyren 7 ongon semninga byrnan. Þa þæt þa gebeoras gesawon, þa flugon heo forhte út, 7 nænige helpe þam beornendan huse gedon meahton; ac hit clæne forborn, nemne

l. 4. *gehæled* O. Ca. B. *gelæded* T. l. 16. *þætte* B. *þætte þæt* T. *þþ* O. Ca. l. 17. *halíg* all MSS. But B. omits *hwylchwugu* and inserts *on* before *þam* (Latin sanctior).

to visit, he found there a woman, niece of the head of the household he was visiting; she had long been sorely afflicted with paralysis. When the people of the household began to lament before him about the dreadful illness of the woman, then he began to tell them of the place where his horse was cured. So they at once got ready a cart, put the woman in, brought her to the place and set her down there. She was tired when she was set down, and fell asleep for a little. As soon as she awoke, she felt she was healed of her bodily infirmity, called for water, washed and arranged her hair, and wrapping herself in a garment returned back home on foot whole and sound, in company of the men who brought her there.

VIII.

At that time also there came another man, who is said to have been of British descent. He was travelling past the spot, in which the aforesaid fight took place. He saw a portion of one place greener and brighter than the rest of the field. So being a man of sagacity he began to think and reason, that there was no other cause for the greenness and brightness of the place, than the circumstance that some man was slain there more holy than the rest of the army. He took some portion of the clay at that spot, tied it up in his garment, supposing that this clay might prove to be a medicine and a cure for the sick: and he went on his way once more. Then in the evening he came to a house, and went in and found all the hamlet assembled and feasting. He was received by the owner of the house, and they pointed him out a seat, and he sat down with them to the feast. But the cloak with the clay, which he brought, he hung on one of the supports of the wall. A large fire had been kindled in the middle of the house. And when they had been long feasting, and had drunk much, and the sparks flew up to the roof of the house, which was interwoven with rods and thatched, then it happened that the whole house within caught fire and suddenly began to burn. When the guests saw this, they fled out in fright, and could give no help to the burning house; and it was burnt clean down, except the single support on which the clay

seo studu aán þe seo molde on hongode, seo gesund 7 ungehrinen from þæm fyre astód 7 awunade. Ða wundrodon heo þæt swiðe; 7 smealice sohton on hwon þæt gelang wære. Þa wæs him gecyðed þæt seo molde þær ón hongode, þe in þære stowe genumen
p. 535. wæs, þær Oswaldes blód þæs cyninges on agoten wæs. Wæron þas wundor feorr 7 wide gemæred 7 gecyþed; 7 monige men seoðþan dæghwamlice þa stówe sohton, 7 þær hælo gife him seolfum 7 heora freondum neoman ongunnon.

VIIII.

Cap. 11. Betweoh ðas ðing nis to forswigienne, hwelc heofonlic wundor 7 mægen æteawed wæs, þa his bán funden 7 gemeted wæron 7 to þære cirican gelædde, þær heo nu gehealden syndon. Wæs þis geworden þurh Osþryðe georrnesse Mercna cwene, seo wæs Oswiges dohtor his broðor, se æfter him feng to Norðanhymbra riice.

Is æðele mynster in Lindesse; is nemned Beardan ea. Ðæt mynster seo ilce cwén mid hire were Æþelrede swiðe lufade 7 arweorðade 7 beeode. In þam heo wilnade gehealdan þa arwyrðan bán hire fædran. Mid þy se wægn þa cwom, þe þa baan in leded wæron, in þæt forespreccne mynster, þa ne woldon þa hiwan him, þe in þæm mynstre wæron, lustlice onfoón. Forþon þeah þe heo hine haligne wisten, hwæðre forðon þe he of oþerre mægþe wæs 7 ofer heo rice onfeng, ealdum feoungum hine eac swylce deadne ehton. Ða wæs geworden, þætte þære seolfan neahte þa brohton bán ute awunedon, nemne mon geteld ofer abrædde. Ac seo æteawnis heofonlices wundres geopenade, hu arwyrðlice heo wæron to under- fonne eallum geleafsumum. Forðon ealle þa niht stód swylce beorht sunbeam from þæm wægne up oð heofon heah, þone mon meahte lytesne of ealre Lindesse stowum sweotole geseon. Þa hit þa wæs on marne dæg geworden, þa ongunnon þa broðor þæs mynstres, þa ðe ær wiðsócon, georrnlice biddan, þætte mid him þa halgan reliquias 7 Gode þa leofan gehealdne beon moston. Ond heo þa ða baán onþwógon 7 in cyste gedydon 7 in cirican æfter gerisenre aare gesetton. Ond þætte se cynelica had þæs halgan weres

l. 21. *þære* T. *oðre* B. *oþre* (on erasure) O. *oðre* Ca. *oþerre* C.

hung, which remained standing sound and untouched by the fire. Then all marvelled at that very much, and enquired carefully into the cause of this. Then it was shown them that the clay hung there, which was taken from the place, where king Oswald's blood was shed. These marvels were celebrated and spread far and wide; and since that many men daily visited the spot, and there began to obtain the grace of healing for themselves and their friends.

IX.

In speaking of this, we cannot pass over a heavenly marvel and miracle, displayed when they came upon and found his bones and brought them to the church, where they are now kept. This was done through the zeal of Osthryth, queen of Mercia; she was daughter of his brother Oswio, who succeeded him on the throne of Northumbria. There is a noble monastery in Lindsey, called Bardney, which the queen and her husband Æthelred loved, honoured and cherished much. In this she wished to preserve the bones of her venerated uncle. When the wain came conveying the bones to the aforesaid monastery, the inmates in the monastery were unwilling to receive them. For though aware of his sanctity, yet as he was of another province and received authority over them, out of ancient hostility they persecuted him, even when dead. So it was, that the bones when brought remained outside that night, only that an awning was spread over them. But the display of a heavenly wonder showed, how reverently they should be received by all believers. For all night there stood as it were a bright sunbeam high up to heaven from the wain, which might be clearly seen almost from every part of Lindsey. So when it was light on the morrow, the brethren in the monastery, who had previously refused, earnestly begged, that the holy relics so precious in God's sight might be preserved among them. Then they washed the bones, and putting them in a chest, deposited them in the church with due honour. And that the royal rank of this

ece gemynd hæfde, his segen, se wæs mid golde 7 mid godwebbe gefrætwad, 7 ofer his byrgenne geseted. Ond þæt seolfe wæter, þæt heo þa báán mid þwógon, guton in ænne ende þære cirican. Of þære tide wæs geworden, þætte seo seolfe eorðe, þe þæt arwyrðe bæð onfeng, meahte to hælo feondseocra monna 7 oðerra untrymnessa.

Gelomp þæt æfterfylgendre tide, mid þy seo foresprecene cwén wæs wuniende in þæm ylcan mynstre, þa cwom sum arwyrðe abbudesse to hire, seo wæs haten Æþelhild; wæs sweostor þara haligra wera Æðelwines 7 Aldwines. Þara wæs oðer biscop in Lindesse, oðer wæs
p. 536. abbud in þæm mynstre þe hatte Peortanea, from þæm mynstre unfeor wæs þære abbudessan mynster. Mid þy heo þa to þære cwene cwom, 7 heo gesprecen hæfdon, 7 betweoh oðer spræcon heo be Oswalde, cwæð heo seo abbudesse, þæt heo gesawe þære nihte þæt leoht ofer his banum úp oð heofon heah. Cwæð heo seo cwén, þætte of þære moldan þæs flores, in þæm þæt wæter his bana þweales goten wæs, monige untrume gehælede wæron. Ond heo þa bæd, þæt hire mon sumne dæl þære halwendan moldan sealde; 7 hire mon swa dyde; 7 heo þa in cláðe bebond 7 in cyste dyde 7 hire ham ferde. Þa æfterfylgendre tide, seoþþon heo in hire mynstre wæs, þætte þider cwom sum cuma, se wæs neahtlicum tidum semninga from únclænum gaste hefiglice swenced. Þa wæs he fremsumlice onfongen; 7 æfter his æfengereorde hine gerestan wolde. Þa wæs he semninga from deoffe gerisen, 7 ongon cleopian 7 hlydan 7 mid his toðum gristbitian, 7 þa fáam of his muðe ut eode, 7 he missenlecum styrenessum ongon his leomu þræstan. Mid þy hine þa nænig mon ne gehabban ne gebindan meahte, þa orn sum þegn 7 sloh tacen æt geate, 7 sægde þære abbudessan. Ond heo sona þæt geat þæs mynstres ontýnde, 7 eode mid áne hire þinenna to þære wæpnedmonna stowe, 7 gehet þone mæssepreost to hire, þæt he sceolde mid heo gán to þam untruman men. Þa heo þa ðider cwómon, þa gesawon heo þær monige men æt him beon, þa ðe georne ongunnon, þæt heo his wedenheortnisse gestilden; ac heo ne meahton. Song he se mæssepreost 7 rædde orationem, þa ðe wið þære aðle awritene wæron, 7 þa þing dyde, þe

l. 2. 7 all MSS. ? *wæs*.

holy man might be kept in perpetual remembrance, his ensign, adorned with gold and purple, was placed above his tomb. And the water, in which the bones were washed, was poured out at one end of the church. From that time on the earth, which received this holy water, had power to heal demoniacs and other infirmities. At a later time, when the aforesaid queen happened to be staying in the monastery, she was visited by a venerable abbess called Æthelhild, sister of the holy men Æthelwin and Aldwin. Of these one was bishop in Lindsey, and the other abbot at the monastery called Parteney, not far from which was the convent of the abbess. When she came to the queen, and they had been conversing, among other topics they spoke of Oswald. Then the abbess declared, that she saw on the night the light over his bones high up to heaven. The queen told her, that many sick were healed by dust from the floor, where the water that washed his bones had been poured. She begged that some of this healing dust might be given her; and this was done; and she bound it in a cloth, put it in a box and went home. At a later time, after her return to the monastery, a stranger came there, who in the hours of the night used to suffer severely by sudden visitations from an unclean spirit. He was hospitably received; and after supper desired to repose. Then he was suddenly seized by the devil, and began to call and shout and grind his teeth, and the foam came from his mouth, and he began to twist his limbs with all sorts of movements. As no one could hold or bind him, an attendant ran and knocked at the gate and told the abbess. She at once opened the monastery gate, and went with one of her women to the men's quarter, summoning the priest to accompany her to the sick man. On coming there they saw many with him, who earnestly endeavoured to calm his madness, but could not. The priest chaunted and recited an exorcism composed for this sickness, and did all that he knew to be

he selust wiþ þon cuðe; 7 he hwæðre noht on þon fremede. Mid þy heora þa nænig ænige helpe *him* findan meahte, þa cwom semninga þære abbudessan in gemynd seo foresprecene molde. Þa het heo sona hire þinenne gaan 7 þa cyste hire to gefetigan, þe seo molde in wæs. Þa heo þa mid þa cyste in þone cafertún eode þæs huses, þe se feondseoca mon in þræsted wæs, þa geswigade he semninga 7 his heafod onhylde, swa swa he slapan wolde, 7 his leomu in stilnesse gesette. Þa swigodon heo eac ealle 7 stille wæron; 7 sorgiende bidon to hwon his þing weorðan scolde. Ða wæs eft*er* medmicelre tide fæce ðæt he upp asæt 7 hefiglice asworette 7 cwæð: Nu ic wat teala, 7 ic onfeng gewit mines modes. Ond heo þa geornlice hine ahsodon, hu þæt gelumpe. Cwæð he: Sona mid þy þe seo fæmne mid þære cyste, þe heo bær, geneolecte þæm cafertune þæs huses, þa gewiton ealle þa wergan gastas onweg, þa ðe mec swencton 7 þrycton, 7 mec forleton 7 nower seoðþan æteawdon. Þa sealde seo abbudisse him sumne dæl þære moldan; 7 seo mæssepreost orationem rædde, 7 heo for hine gebædon: 7 he ða niht ealle hal 7 gesund hine reste. Ond siðþan of þære tide þa awyrgedan gastas hine mid nænige ege ne mid geswencnisse grétan dorston.

X.

p. 537. Cap. 12. Æfter ðissum wæs æft*er*fylgendre tide sum cneoht in þæm mynstre in Beardan ea in longre lenctenadle hefiglice swenced. Þa wæs sume dæge, þætte he sorgende bæd hwonne seo aðl to him cwome, þa wæs gongende in to him sum þara broðra; cwæð him to: Wilt þu min cild þæt ic þe lære, hu þu gehæled beon meaht from þisse aðle hefignesse? Aris 7 gong to cirican to þæs halgan Oswaldes lice, 7 site þær 7 stille wuna, 7 geseoh þæt þu ut þonon ne gonge, ær seo aðl from þe gewiten sy. Þonne cume ic to ðe 7 þec þonon ham lædo. Þa dyde he swa he hine lærde; eode gesittan to þæs halgan weres liice. Þa ne cwom him no seo untrymnis to þy dæge; ac heo, swa ondrædende, from him gewat, þætte ne ðy æfteran dæge ne ðy þriddan ne ofer þæt siðþan hine oo gehrinan dorste. Cwom sum broðor þonon, cwæð Beda, þe me sægde þæt hit þus gedon wære: 7 eac sægde, þæt se ilca broðor þa gyt in

best for it, but still produced no effect by this. As none could find anything to help him, suddenly the abbess bethought her of the aforesaid dust, and at once ordered her attendant to go and fetch the box containing it. When she with the box entered the hall of the house, where the demoniac was tormented, he suddenly became silent and dropped his head, as though he would sleep, and composed his limbs to rest. Then all were silent and still, and awaited the result with apprehension. Then after a little he sat up, sighed heavily and said: 'Now I am in my right mind, and have recovered my senses.' And they eagerly asked him, how that was. He replied: 'As soon as the woman carrying the box came near the hall of the house, all the evil spirits departed, who tormented and oppressed me, and they left me and appeared not here any more.' Then the abbess gave him a portion of the dust; and the priest recited an exorcism, and they prayed for him: and all that night he rested whole and sound. And from that time on the evil spirits durst not visit him with any terror or torment.

X.

After this at a subsequent time a boy in the monastery at Bardney suffered severely from a prolonged fever. When one day he was looking with apprehension for an attack, then one of the brethren came in to him and said: 'My child, will you learn from me, how you may be cured of this grievous sickness? Rise up and go into the church, and sit by the body of the holy Oswald and keep still, and see that you do not leave, till the attack is gone. Then I will come to you and bring you off home.' The boy did as he was directed, and went to sit by the saint's body. And that day the illness did not visit him, but kept away as if afraid, nor on the next, nor on the third day, nor ever after durst attack him. A brother coming from that place, said Beda, told me that it so happened, adding that the brother was still alive in the monastery

þæm mynstre lifigende wære, in þæm cneohtwesendum þis hælo wundor geworden wæs. Ne wæs þæt þonne to wundrienne, þeah þe þæs cyninges bene, þa he mid Drihtne ricsade, mid him swiðade 7 genge wæren, se ðe ær, þendæn he þis hwilendlice hæfde riice, ma he gewunade, þæt he for þæm ecan riice symle wonn 7 God bletsode.

Sægdon þætte þa menn, þa hit cuðon, þæt he oftost from þære tide þæs uhtlican lofsonges oð hluttorne dæg in gebedum astóde 7 awunade; 7 for þæm gelomlicum þeawe his gebeda, swa hwær swa he sæt, þæt his gewuna wæs þæt he his honda upweard hæfde ofer his cneo, 7 symle Drihtne Gode his gooda þanc sægde. Wæs eac swylce wiid mærsed 7 in gewunan gyddis gehwyrfed, þæt he eac swylce betweoh gebedes word his lif geendade. Forðon þa he wæs mid wæpnum 7 mid feondum all utan beheped, 7 he seolfa onget þæt hine mon ofsléan scolde, þa gebæd he for þam sawlum his weorodes. Cwædon heo bi ðon þus in gydde: Drihten God miltsa þu sawlum ussa leoda, cwæð se halga Oswald, þa he on eorðan sáág.

Wæron his baan gelæded 7 gehealden in þæm mynstre, þe we ær cwædon æt Beardan ea. Heht se cyning, se ðe hine slóg, his heafod on steng asetton; 7 his hond mid þy earme, þe of his lichoman aslegen wæs, het to ahoon. Þa cwom æfter géres fæce mid herige se æfterfylgend his riices Osweo his mæg 7 heo þær genom: 7 his heafod mon lædde to Lindesfearena eae, 7 þær in cirican bebyrgde; 7 his hond mid þy earme in þære cynelican ceastre in Bebbanbyrig gehealdene syndon.

XI.

p. 538. Cap. 13. Nales ðæt an ðætte se hlisa þises æðelan weres eall Breotene gemæro geondscine, ac swylce eac bi suðan sé in Germania 7 eac somod þa dælas Hibernia Scotta ealondes se hlisa his wundra biewoom. Forðon Acca se arwyrða biscop gewunode oft secgan, þa he to Rome wæs ferende, 7 mid Wilbrord þone halgan biscop

l. 12. *geddis* T. *gydles* O. (*y* in erasure.) Ca. *godes* B. C. l. 20. *Beardan ea* O Ca. (*éa*). B. (*éa*). *Bearda ea* T. l. 24. *lindesfarena ea* O. *lindesfarena éa* Ca. *lindesfarene ea* B. *lindesfeara eaae* (the *a* before *r* and the first *a* in

on whom, as a boy, this miracle of healing had been wrought. It was no wonder, if the king's prayer, when reigning with the Lord, prevailed and was effective with him, seeing that while he held this temporal kingdom, it was rather his wont ever to contend and bless God for the eternal kingdom. Those who knew said, that he very often continued and persevered in prayer from the time of lauds till clear daylight; and owing to his constant habit of praying, wherever he sat, he habitually kept his hands on his knees with the palms upwards, and he was continually thanking God for his mercies. It was also repeated far and wide, and it turned into a current saying, that he died with a prayer on his lips. For being surrounded on all sides by armed enemies, and perceiving that he should be slain, he prayed for the souls of his army; and thus they expressed it in a saying: 'The Lord God have mercy on the souls of our people, said the holy Oswald, as he sank to the ground.' His bones were brought and preserved in the aforesaid monastery at Bardney. The king who slew him, ordered his head to be set on a pole, and to hang up his hand with the arm, that was struck from his body. Then after a year's time, his brother Oswio, who succeeded to his throne, came with a host and took them away from that place: and his head was brought to Lindisfarne and was buried in the church; but his hand and arm are preserved in the royal town of Bamborough.

XI.

The fame of this noble man not only was diffused over all Britain, but also the fame of his miracles spread along the south sea into Germany, and also into the districts of Ireland the island of the Scots. For the venerable bishop Acca was often wont to repeat that, on his way to Rome, when staying with the holy Wilbrord, bishop of the Frisians, he often heard him speak of

eaae resemble *n*) T. cp. iv. 23. v. 1. 2 (bis). l. 31. *7 mid wilb,ord* O. *7 mid wilbrord* Ca. *7 wilbrond* (*mid* wanting) T. *7 mid wilbrande* B.

Fresena wæs wuniende, þæt he hine gelomlice herde secgan in þære mægðe bi þæm wundrum, þe æt þæm banum þæs arwyrðan cyninges gedon wæron.

Swelce he eac sægde se biscop, mid þy he ða gena mæssepreost wæs in Hibernia 7 þær for heofona rices lufan in elþeodignesse lifde, þæt he þær þone hlisan in þæm ealonde his halignesse feorr 7 wide gelomlice herde secgan. Þonne magon we nu an wundor secgan, þe he sægde betweoh oðer monego. Sægde he, þæt in þa tid þæs miclan wóles 7 monncwilde, þe Breotone ealond 7 Hibernia mid micle wæle fornom 7 forhergade, þa wæs geslegen betweoh oðre monige mid þy wæle þæs ilcan wóles sum leornungmon in scole Scotta cynnes. Wæs se mon wel gelæred in gewritum; ac ymb þa gemænne his ecre hælo wæs to sæne 7 to receleas. Ða he þa geseah þæt he wæs neah deaðe, þa ongon he forhtian 7 him ondrædon, þæt he sona, þæs þe he dead wære, fore geearnungum his synna to helle locum gelæded beon sceolde. Cleopode mec þa 7 cegde, mid þy ic wæs him ón neoweste: 7 betweoh þa untruman sworetunge he forhtigende 7 wependre stefne þus wæs spreocende 7 seofiende to me, 7 cwæð: Hwæt þu gesyxt, þæt þeos aðl 7 þeos hefignes mines lichoman swiðe weaxeð, þæt ic eom neded þæt ic sceal hraðe deað underhnigan. Ne twygeo ic þonne mec noht æfter þæs lichoman deaðe hræðe gelæd beon to þam écan deaðe minre sawle 7 helle tintregu underðeoded ne beon. Forþon micelre tiide betweoh geleoso þære godcundan leornunge ic ma synnum 7 leahtrum þeowde, þonne Godes bebodum. Me is nu fæstlice in mode, gif seo uplice arfæstnis me ænig fæc to lifigenne forgeofan wille, þæt ic wille mine leahtorfulle þeawas gesecgan, 7 to bebode þæs godcundan willan eall min mod 7 min lif fæstlice gecerran. Ic for soð wat, þæt þæt nis minre gegearnunge, þæt ic yldenne onfó to lifigenne, oðþo ne getreowe me onfoende beon, nemne God me earmum 7 unwyrðum gemiltsigan wille þurh þara fultum 7 bene, þe him getreowlice þeowdon. We gehyrdon 7 se

l. 11. *sum* O. Ca. B. *sumne* T. l. 25. *þeode* T. *ðeod,e* O. *ðeodde* Ca. *underðeodde* B. l. 30. *ylden.ne* (erasure of one) T. *yldinc,* O. *yldinge* Ca. *ylde* B. *onfende* (o above *f*) T. *onfonde* O. Ca. *onfeonge* (om. *beon*) B.

the wonders, that had been wrought in that land at the relics of the revered king. The bishop also said, that when he was still a priest in Ireland, living there in a foreign land for love of the heavenly kingdom, that he often heard the fame of his sanctity repeated far and wide in that island. So we may now relate one miracle, which he mentioned among many others. He said that at the time of the great plague and loss of life, which ruined and wasted the islands of Britain and Ireland with great mortality, among many others there was smitten by the mortality a disciple in the school of Scotch descent. He was well read, but too slack and careless in regard for his eternal salvation. When he saw himself near death, he began to fear and to dread that, as soon as he died, he should be carried to hell prison according to his sins' deserts. As I was near him, he called me, and amid his feeble sighs, trembling and with plaintive voice, he thus spoke lamenting to me, and said: 'Now you see that this sickness and heaviness of my body increases much, so that I am forced soon to undergo death. I do not doubt, that after the death of this body I shall be carried at once to the eternal death of my soul and be subject to hell's torments. For I have long served sin and vice rather than God's commandments, while studying the divine word. I am now firmly resolved, if the heavenly goodness will grant me any time to live, that I will renounce my vicious habits, and steadfastly change all my mind and life to the ordinance of the divine will. I know in truth, that I shall not receive for my own merits a respite to live, nor do I trust to receive it, unless God will have mercy on me, a miserable and unworthy man, through the aid and prayers of his true servants. We have heard, and it is everywhere reported,

mæresta hlisa is, þætte wære in eowerre þeode wundorlicre halignesse cyning, Oswald hatte, þæs cyninges geleafan 7 mægenes heannis æfter deaðe eac swilce mid gelomlicra wundra wyrcnisse scán 7 beorhte. Biddo ic þe la, gif þu ænige his reliquias hæbbe mid þec, þæt þu me selle. Eaðe mæg, þæt me Drihten þurh his geearnung miltsigan wille. Ða *ond*sworede ic him: Ic hæbbu, cwæð, þæs treowes dæl, þe his heafod on aseted wæs, þa he ofslegen wæs.
p. 539. Ond gif þu mid trumre heortan gelefest, þonne mæg seo godcunde arfæstnisse þurh geearnunge swa micles monnes æghwæðer ge lengre fæc þisses lifes þe forgifan, ge þec eac þæs ecan lífes ingonges wyrðne gedon. Ne wæs he þa eldende, ac sona andsworode 7 cwæð, þæt he in þissum hæfde fæstne geleafan 7 onwalhne. Þa gehalgode ic wæter 7 scæfþan dyde in þæs foresprecenan treoes, 7 sealde þam untruman drincan. 7 sona þæt him wæs bet 7 hine getrumade 7 gewyrpte from þære untrymnesse. 7 he longe tiid seoþðan lifde 7 mid ealle his heortan 7 dædum fæstlice to Gode gecerde; ond swa hwær swa he cwom, þæt he eallum monnum sægde 7 bodade þa mildheortnesse þæs arfæstan scyppendes 7 þæt wuldor his getreowan þeowes.

XII.

Cap. 14. Ono ða Oswald wæs gelæded to þam heofonlican rice, þa onfeng þæs eorðlecan rices sepl æfter him his broðor Osweo. Hæfde he þritig wintra, þa he to riice feng, 7 þæt eahta 7 twentig wintra gewinnesfullice heold 7 hæfde. Feaht him ón 7 wonn Penda se cyning 7 seo hæðne þeod Mercna; swelce eac his agen sunu Alhfrið 7 Æðelwald his broðor sunu, se ær him riice hæfde. Ða wæs þy æfteran gere his rices, þætte se arwyrða fæder Paulinus, se wæs geo in Eoferwicceastre biscop, þa wæs in Hrofesceastre, forðgewát 7 to Drihtne ferde þy syxtan dæge Iduum Octobrium, æfter þon þe he nigontyne winter 7 twegen monað 7 an 7 twentig daga biscophade onfeng. Ond he wæs bebyrged on Scē Andreas cirican þæs apostoles, ða Æþelberht se cyning in þære ilcan

l. 7. *þa he ofslegen wæs* O. Ca. B. Not in T. l. 10. *in.gonges* (erasure of *n*) T. *inganges* O. Ca. B. l. 25. *nigon* T. *nygantyne* O. Ca. *nigontyne* B. l. 30. *on* O. Ca. B. 7 T.

that in your people there was a king of wondrous sanctity called Oswald; and the loftiness of this king's faith and virtue shone out and was evident even after death by the working of repeated wonders. Lo now I pray you, if you have any of his relics with you, that you give them me. It may easily be, that the Lord will have mercy on me for his merits.' Then I answered him: 'I have,' said I, 'a portion of the tree on which his head was placed, when he was slain. And if you believe with a firm heart, then divine goodness, through the merits of so great a man, may either give you a longer time in this life, or make you worthy to enter into eternal life.' Then at once without delay he answered and said, that he had firm and full belief in this. Then I blessed water and put in it a chip from the aforesaid tree, and gave it to the sick man to drink. And at once he was better, grew strong and recovered from sickness. And he lived long after and turned steadfastly to God with all his heart and actions; and wherever he came, he reported and preached to all the mercy of the good God and the glory of his faithful servant.

XII.

Now when Oswald was carried to the kingdom of heaven, his brother Oswio succeeded him on the throne of his earthly kingdom. He was thirty years old at his accession, and held and maintained the kingdom amid many difficulties for twenty-eight years. King Penda and the heathen people of the Mercians assailed and fought with him, as well as his own son Alhfrith, and Æthelwald, son of the brother who reigned before him. In the second year of his reign the venerable father Paulinus, formerly bishop at York, then at Rochester, departed and went to the Lord on the 10th of October, after he had been bishop for nineteen years two months and twenty-one days. He was buried in the church of the apostle St. Andrew, which king Æthelberht formerly

Hrofesceastre ær heht getimbran. In þære stowe Honorius se ærcebiscop gehalgode Itthamar, se wæs Contwara leod, ac on his life 7 on his gelærednesse he wæs his foregengum gelic.

Hæfde Osweo se cyning in þæm ærestan tidum his riices efenhletan þære cynelecan weorðnesse, þæs noma wæs Oswine, of Eadwines strynde þæs cyninges. Wæs he Osrices sunu, bi þæm we beforan sægdon. Wæs he seofon winter Dera cyning Oswini in þære mæstan genihtsumnesse ealra þinga. Wæs he se mon æfest 7 arfæst, 7 forðon eallum his leodum leof. Ac ne meahte he hwæðere mid þone cyning, þe þone oþerne dæl Norðanhymbra riices hæfde, þæt is Beornica, sibbe habban; ac swa micel ungeþwærnes 7 unsibb betweoh him aras, þætte heo heora weorod 7 fyrd gesomnodon. Mid þy Oswini þa geseah, þætte he ne meahte wið hine gewinnan, forðon he maran fultum 7 mare mægen hæfde, þa wæs he nyttra þinga þencende, 7 demende þæt he þæt gefeoht forlete 7 hine geheolde to betran tide. Forlet þa his weorod, 7 bebead þæt monn hwa him ham ferde from þære stowe, þe is nemned Wilfares dún. Seo is tyn milum westrihte from Cetreht. weorþige. Þa gecerde he mid áne his þegne, þe he him getreowestne tealde, þæs noma wæs Tondhere, to Hunwaldes ham his gesiðes, þæt he þær wolde deagol beon, þone he him ær þone holdestan gelefde. Ac hit feorr on oðre wisan wæs. Forþon se ilca gesiið þurh Æðelwine his geréfan mid þy foresprecenan his þegne hine þær ameldedon;
p. 540. 7 hine mon þær laðlice deaðe cwealde. Wæs þis geworden þy þreottoþon dæge Kalendarum Septembrium þy nigoþan geare Oswios riices in þære stowe, þe is cweden Ingetlingum. Þær æfter fæce for intingan clæsnunge þisses manes wæs mynster getimbred, in þæm for æghwæðres cyninges sawle alesnesse, ge þæs ofslegenan ge þæs þe hine slean het, dæghwamlice Drihtne bene 7 gebedo borene beon scoldon.

Wæs he Oswine se cyning ge on ónsyne fæger ge on bodie heah ge wynsum on gespræce, 7 in þeawum monþwære; 7 he wæs eallum rumgeofa ge æðelum ge únæðelum. Ðonon gelomp, þætte fore his cynelicnesse ge modes ge onsynes 7 his geearnunge wyrðnesse, þæt he wæs from eallum monnum lufod. Ond æghwonan lytesne of

l. 7. *dera* O. Ca. *þara* T. *daera* B.

ordered to be built in this town of Rochester. In his place archbishop Honorius consecrated Itthamar, of Kentish descent, but in life and learning equal to his predecessors. In the first years of his reign king Oswio had a partner in the royal dignity, named Oswini, of the family of king Eadwine, being son of Osric whom we mentioned before. Oswini reigned over Deira for seven years in complete affluence. He was just and pious, and for this beloved by all his people. But he could not maintain peace with the king, who had the other part of the Northumbrian realm, that is, Bernicia. Such disunion and hostility sprang up between them, that they assembled their followers and armies. Now when Oswini saw that he could not cope with him, as he had more auxiliaries and a greater force, he bethought him of the more expedient course, and determined to give up the struggle and reserve himself for better times. So he disbanded his troops and directed everyone to return home from the place, which is called Wilfaresdun, which is ten miles west from the village of Catterick. And he turned off with one attendant, whom he considered most faithful, named Tondheri, to the house of his gesith Hunwald, whom he formerly believed to be most loyal to him, intending to conceal himself there. But it was far otherwise. For this gesith, by the instrumentality of his reeve Æthelwin, betrayed the king with his aforesaid attendant; and he was shamefully put to death. This took place on the 20th of August in the ninth year of Oswio's reign, at the place called Gilling. There after a time to purge away this sin a monastery was erected, in which daily prayer and supplication should be offered to the Lord for the deliverance of the souls of both kings, the one that was slain and the one who ordered his slaying. King Oswini was handsome in appearance, tall in person, and pleasant in address, gentle in his manners, and liberal to all whether gentle or simple. Consequently he was beloved of all for the kingliness of his spirit and his looks, and his high merits. And the noblest flocked to join his retinue and

eallum þissum bifylcum to his folgaðe 7 his þegnunge þa æþelestan men cwomon.

Þisses cyninges betweoh oðer mægen 7 gemetfæstnisse 7 syndriglicre bletsunge wuldor, eac swilce is sægd, þæt he wære þære mæstan eaðmodnesse, swa swa we magon on ánre bisene sweotole oncnawan. Geaf he 7 sealde þæt betste hors 7 þæs fægerestan eondes Aidane þæm biscope, þeah þe he gewuna wære þæt he ma eode þonne he ride, ðæt he hwæðre on þæm meahte fordas oferrídan, þonne he to hwelcere ea cwome; oðþe gif hwylc ned gelumpe, þæt he hrædlicor feran scolde. Þa wæs æfter medmicelre tiide, þa he on þæm horse sæt, þæt him cwom sum þearfa togeanes 7 him ælmessan bæd. Þa lihte he sona 7 heht þam þearfan þæt hors syllan mid þæm cynelicum gebætum þe him onstodon. Forþon he wæs swiðe mildheort 7 þearfena bigenga 7 swa swa fæder earmra. Þa þis þa wæs þæm cyninge gesægd, cwæð he to þam biscope, þa heo wærun to heora swæsendum gongende: Hwæt woldest þu, min domne biscop, þæt cynelice hors þæm þearfan syllan, þe ðe gedafenade agan to habbanne? Ac ne hæfdon wit monig oðer uncymre hors 7 oðres eondes, þæt wit meahton þearfum to tigðe sellan, þeah þu þæt hors him ne sealde, þæt ic ðe synderlice to æhte geceas? Ða *and*swarede se bisceop him sona 7 cwæð: Hwæt sprycest þu cyning? Cwist ðu þæt þe sy leofre þære myran sunu þonne þæt Godes bearn? Ða heo þa þis spræcon, þa iodon heo in to swæsendum, 7 se biscop eode ge sæt in his stówe on his seðle.

Se cyning þonne, forðon he of huntað cwom, gestód æt þam fýre 7 hine wyrmde mid his þegnum. Ond þa semninga betweoh þa werminge gemunde þæt word, þæt se biscop him ær to cwæð: ongyrde hine þa his sweorde 7 sealde his þegne, 7 stop ofostlice toforan biscope 7 feoll to his fotum, 7 bæd þæt he him bliðe wære, 7 cwæð: Næfre ofer þis ic owiht ma spreco oððe demo, hwæt oðþe hu micel of uncrum feó ðu Godes bearnum selle. Þa se biscop þa geseah þa eaðmodnesse þæs cyninges swa micle, þa ondred he him swiðe 7 sona aras him togegnes 7 hine up ahóf, 7 geheht þæt

1. 3. *gemetfæstnisse syndriglicre bletsung* T. *gemetfæstnesſ syndriglicre bletsunge* (the last *s* of first word and the first *s* of second word on erasure) O.

service, from almost every quarter in all the adjoining provinces. Among other virtues of this king and signal instances of modesty and of special blessedness, it is also said that he was of the utmost humility, as we may clearly perceive from a single example. He bestowed and gave his best horse of the finest breed to bishop Aidan, though the latter was wont to travel more on foot than on horseback, to enable him at any rate to ride over the fords, when he came to any river, or in case of need, to proceed more rapidly. Now after a little, when the bishop was on horseback, a poor man met him and begged alms. Then he dismounted at once and ordered the horse to be given to the poor man, along with the royal trappings that were on it. For he was very benevolent and cared for the needy and was, as it were, a father to the poor. On this being reported to the king he said to the bishop, as they were going to dinner: 'Sir bishop, why would give that royal steed to the poor man, which it was proper for you to keep for yourself? Had we not many other less handsome horses of other breeds, which we might give to the poor as a gift, without your giving them the horse, which I specially chose to be your own property?' The bishop replied at once: 'What do you say, O king? Do you say that the offspring of a mare is dearer to you than God's child?' Having thus spoken they went in to dinner, and the bishop went and took his place on his own chair. Then the king, having just come from hunting, stood at the fire and warmed himself among his attendants. And suddenly, while warming himself, he recollected the words which the bishop had just said to him, unbuckled his sword and gave it to his attendant, and stepping up quickly to the bishop, fell at his feet and begged him to be friendly with him, saying: 'Never after this will I say a word more, or judge as to what or how much you give of our property to God's children.' When the bishop saw the king's humility to be so great, he was much afraid, at once arose to meet him, lifted him up, promised to be very

gemetfæstnys synlrilicre bletsunge Ca. *gemetfæstnesse 7 synderlice bletsunge* B. l. 21. *ða—cwæð* not in T. Text from O. Ca. B.

he him swiðe bliðe wære, 7 georne bæd þæt he eode to his seðle sittan to his swæsendum 7 unrotnisse of his heortan asette. Mid þy he ða se cyning bi þæs biscopes hæse 7 bene blisse onfeng, ða ongon he se biscop ongegn þon unrot weosan, 7 swa unrot wæs, þæt he ongon wepan hluttrum tearum. Þa frægn hine 7 ahsode his mæssepreost on his agen geðeode, þe se cyning ne cuðe ne his higen, for hwon he weope. Cwæð he: ic wat þætte þes cyning æfter þissum noht longe ne leofað, forþon ic næfre ær þissum geseah eaðmodne cyning. Forþon ic ongeote, þæt he hrædlice of þissum life leoran sceal; ond nis þeos þeod wyrðe þæt heo swilcne reccend 7 cyning hæbbe. Ne wæs þa long fæc æfter þætte se grimma witedom þæs biscopes wæs gefylled, þæt mon laðlice deaþe þone cyning acwealde, swa we ær beforan sægdon. Ge eac se seolfa biscop Aidan nales ma þonne þy twelftan dæge æfter þæs cyninges slege, þone þe he lufode, þæt is þy ærran dæge Kalendas Septembris, of þisse worulde alæded wæs, 7 ece mede his gewinna from Drihtne onfeng.

p. 541.

XIII.

Cap. 15. Ono hwylcre geearnunge þes biscop wære, mid wundra tacnum eac swilce se innlica dema ælmihtig God monnum gecyðde. Þonne is us nu genoh, þæt we of monegum þreo areccen for intingan his gemynde. Wæs sum arwyrðe mæssepreost, þæs noma wæs Útta: wæs micelre gestæðþignesse 7 soðfæstnisse wer, 7 he forðon eallum ge þisse worulde aldormonnum wæs leof 7 weorð. Wæs he sended in sume tid to Cent, þæt he sceolde Osweo þæm cyninge wiif fetigan Eanflæde Eadwines dohtor þæs cyninges, seo wæs ær þider gelæded, þa hire fæder ofslegen wæs. Þa gestihhade he 7 funde, þæt he wolde londfyrde þider gefaran, 7 eft in sciplade mid þære fæmnan haam hweorfan. Þa eode se mæssepreost to Aidane þæm biscope; bæd hine þæt he for hine gebæde 7 for his geferan, 7 for heora gesyntu to Gode þingade, þa heo swa micelne siðfæt feran scolden. Þa dyde he swa:

l. 2. *gesette* T. *asette* O. Ca. B. l. 10. *nis* O. Ca. *is* T. B. l. 16. *kalendas* O. Ca. *-dos* T. *-darū* B. l. 23. *aldormon* T. *ealdormonnū* O. Ca. *-mannū* B (*ea-*).

friendly to him, earnestly entreating that he would go and sit in his place at the meal, and put away sadness from his heart. Now when the king at the bishop's bidding and request recovered his spirits, the bishop on the other hand began to be sad, and so sad that he began to weep profusely. Then his priest asked him in his own language, which neither the king nor his household knew, why he wept. He said: 'I know that this king will not survive long, for I never before saw humility in a king: therefore I feel that he is soon to depart this life; and this people is not worthy to have such a king and ruler.' Not long after the dire prophecy of the bishop was fulfilled, namely, that the king was murdered by a foul death as already related. And bishop Aidan himself, not more than twelve days after the death of the king whom he loved, that is on the last day of August, was taken from this world, and received from the Lord the eternal reward of his labours.

XIII.

Now what this bishop's merits were, was made known to men also by miraculous signs from God the judge of hearts. But it is now enough to relate, for his memory's sake, three out of many. There was a venerable priest named Utta, a man of great gravity and truthfulness, and for this reason beloved and valued by all, as well as by the great men of this world. He was once sent to Kent to fetch Eanflæde, daughter of king Eadwine, to be wife of king Oswio, who had been brought there, when her father was slain. Then he settled and arranged to go there by a land route, and to return home with the lady on board ship. Then the priest went to bishop Aidan, entreated his prayers for himself and companions and supplications to God for their safety, as they had such a long journey to travel. Then he did so: he prayed for them, blessed them,

gebæd heo fore 7 heo gebletsade 7 Gode bebead; sealde eac swylce þæm mæssepreoste gehalgodne éle. Cwæð him to: Ic wat sona, cwæð he, þæs þe ge in scip astigað, þæt ofer eow cymeð micel storm 7 hreonis, 7 wiðerweard wind astigeð. Ac gemyne þu þæt þu þisne ele, þe ic þe nu sylle, synd in þa sæ; 7 sona instæpe se wínd gestilleð 7 sæs smyltnes æfterfylgeð, 7 eow eac bliðe on eowerne wilsið hám forlætað.

Ond eal þas þing, swa se biscop forecwæð, of endebyrdnesse gelumpun 7 gefylde wæron. Ond sona ærest, þæs þe heo in scip eodon 7 ut leton, þætte astigon wiðorwearde windas, 7 þa yða weollon 7 weddon þæs sées. Þa ongunnon þa nedlingas 7 þa scipmen þa oncras upp teon, 7 in þone sæ syndon; woldon þæt scip mid gefæstnian. 7 þeah þe heo þis dydon, noht heo on þon fremedon; ac þa yða weollon 7 ymbsweopon 7 æghwonan þæt scip fyldon, þæt heo him nænigra gesynta wendon, ac heo ealle
p. 542. deað seolfne him onweardne geseagon. Þa æt nyhstan gemunde se mæssepreost þæs biscopes word: genom his ompellan, 7 sumne dæl þæs éles sende in þone sæ. Ond sona instæpe, swa hit forecweden wæs, gestilde se sæ from þæm wylme. Ond swa wæs geworden, þætte se Godes wer þurh wítedomes gast þone storm toweardne foreseah, 7 þurh þæs ilcan gastes mægen, þa he up cumen wæs, þæt he hine aswefede 7 gestilde, þeah þe he lichomlice þær æfweard wære. Þisses wundres endebyrdnesse nænig tweonde secgend, ac se getreowesta mæssepreost usse cirican, Cynemund hatte, me þis sægde; sægde he, he hit gehyrde from þæm seolfan Uttan mæssepreoste, in þæm 7 þurh þone þis wundor gefylled wæs.

XIIII.

Cap. 16. Þonne secgeað monige, þa þe hit gearuwe cuðon, oðer gemyndelic wundor þæs ilcan fæder. Þæt gelomp in þa tid his biscophada, þætte Penda Mercna cyning gelædde here on Norðanhymbra lond, 7 hit feor 7 wide mid arlease wæle hyðde 7 hergode. Þa becwom he æt nyhstan to þære cynelecan byrig, seo is nemned Bebbanburg. Þa he þa geseah, þæt seo burg wæs to þon fæst, þæt

l. 22. *gescilde* T. *gestillde* O. *gestilde* Ca. B.

and commended them to God. He also gave the priest consecrated oil, saying: 'I know that, soon after you embark, a great storm and tempest will come upon you, and a contrary wind will arise. But remember to cast into the sea this oil which I give you; and at once the wind will fall, and calm will follow and send you home rejoicing on your way, as you desire.' And all fell out in order, and was fulfilled according to the bishop's prophecy. And first, as soon as they went on board and put out, contrary winds arose, and the waves of the sea rose and raged. Then the ship's crew and the sailors hoisted the anchors, and dropped them into the sea, intending to moor the ship with them. But they effected nothing, though they did so; for the waves seethed and swept round them, and filled the ship from all sides, so that they utterly despaired of safety, and all saw death before their eyes. At last the priest recollected the bishop's words, took his flask and poured some of the oil into the sea. And at once, as it was foretold, the sea calmed down from its fury. And so had the man of God by a spirit of prophecy foreseen the storm coming, and by virtue of the same spirit, laid to rest and stilled it, after it had arisen, though not there present in the body. The circumstances of this miracle were reported to me by no doubtful authority, but by a most trustworthy priest of our church called Cynemund, who said he heard it from the priest Utta himself, in whose case and through whom this miracle was wrought.

XIV.

Now many, who are well informed, relate another memorable miracle of the same father. During the time of his episcopate it happened, that Penda, king of Mercia, led his host into the land of Northumbria, wasting and despoiling it far and wide with cruel carnage. At last he came to the royal city, named Bamborough; and seeing that the town was so strong, that he could not by assault

he ne meahte ne mid gefeohtene mid ymbsete heo abrecan ne gegaan, þa wolde he mid fýre forbærnan. Aslát þa þa túnas ealle ymb þa burg onwæg, ðe he þær on neaweste gemette, 7 to þære byrig gewæg, 7 micelne ád gesómnade on beamum 7 on ræftrum 7 on wagum 7 on watelum 7 on ðeacon; 7 mid þissum þa burg mid micelre heannisse ymbsealde from þæm dæle, þe heo londe geþeoded is. Þa hit þa wæs wel gewínde in þa burg, þa onbærnde he þone aád 7 þa burg forbærnan wolde.

Ða in þa seolfan tid wæs se arwyrðа biscop 7 se halga Aidan in Farne þæm ealonde, þæt is on twæm milum from þære byrig ut on sé. Wæs his gewuna þæt he ða stowe gelomlice sohte for intingan stilnesse 7 his deagolra gebeda, ond mon mæg gen to dæge þa stówe his seðles on þæm ilcan ealonde sceawian. Þa he þa se
p. 543. biscop geseah swapendum windum þone leg þæs fyres 7 þone réc up ofer þære burge wallas ahefenne, is sægd, þæt he his eagan mid his hondum to heofonum hofe 7 mid tearum þus cwæde: Þu Drihten, geseoh hu micel yfel Penda wyrceð. Ond þa sona instæpe oncerde se wind from þære byrig, 7 se leg 7 seo hætu ræsde on þa seolfan, þe þæt fyr ældon 7 bærndon, 7 monig monn swiðe gewyrdledon; 7 heo ealle afyrhte onweg flugon 7 blunnon þa burg afeohton, þa heo ongeton þæt heo godcundlice gescilded wæs.

Cap. 17. Ða ðæt ða gen wæs, þæt þa ger gefylled wæron his biscophada, þæt he þis deaðlice lif forlætan sceolde, 7 he úntrum wæs, þa wæs he in þæm cynelecan tune noht feorr from þære byrig, þe we ær foresprecende wæron, in þæm he hæfde ciricạn 7 cýtan. 7 his gewuna wæs, þæt hē gelomlice þider cerde 7 þær wunade, 7 þonon eode gehwyder ymb, 7 þær godcunde lare bodade 7 lærde. (Ðæt eac swilce his þeaw wæs ón oðrum cyninges tune tó donne, swa swa hit eaðe beon mihte, forðon þe he nowiht agnes hæfde, butan his cyricean 7 þær to feower æceras.) Þa aslogon his

l. 3. *de* T. *þe* Ca. O. *ðe* to *gewæg* not in B. l. 9. The divergency is now so great between T. B. on one side and O. Ca. (C.) on the other, that full citations of the latter must be reserved for Part ii. (to end of cap. 18). l. 13. *seawian* T. *sceawian* B. l. 14. *wi.ndū* (erasure) T. *windū* B. l. 22. T. has the illuminated initial, and coloured capitals (as far as *wæs*), marking the beginning of a new chapter. The number XVII is late. The

or investment destroy or capture it, he determined to burn it down. So he pulled down all the villages around the city, which were to be found in the neighbourhood, and conveyed to the city and collected a huge pile of beams, rafters, partition walls, wattles and thatch. With these he surrounded the city to a great height, on the side where it adjoins the land. And when the wind blew fair on to the town, he kindled the pile, intending to burn down the town. Now just at this time the venerable bishop St. Aidan was at the island of Farne, which is two miles out at sea from the town. He was wont often to visit the place for the sake of retirement and prayer in secret, and still at this day his dwelling-place may be seen on the island. Now when the bishop saw the flames of fire and the smoke carried up by the sweeping winds over the walls of that city, it is said that he raised his hands and his eyes to heaven and spoke thus with tears: 'Lord, see how much evil Penda does.' And then at once on the spot the wind shifted from the town, and the flames and the heat turned on those, who kindled and burnt the fire, and many were much injured; and all fled away in alarm and ceased to attack the city, which they saw was divinely protected. Now when the years of his episcopate were fulfilled, that he should leave this mortal life, and he fell sick, he was then at that royal residence, not far from the city we have mentioned before, at which he had a church and a cell. And it was his wont to go often and stay there, and from this he went about in every direction, preaching and teaching the word of God. This also it was his habit to do at other residences of the king, as easily might be the case, for he had nothing of his own, save his church and a few fields adjoining. Then his companions, when he fell ill, put

is no number in Ca. (which numbers Cap. 21 as XV); but here is inserted in red letters *eft oðer* $\overline{cw}$, and at beginning of Cap. 18, *7 eft oðer cwide*: cc. 19, 20 are wanting in O. Ca. C. The beginning of the chapter is marked in O. (as usual) by a capital coloured; in B. (as generally) by a blank left for the initial. l. 29. *Ðæt* to *æceras* inserted from O. Ca. (C): not in T. B.

geferan teld, þa he untrum wæs, on westan þære cirican fæst. Þa gelomp, þa he forðferan scolde, þæt he genom þa studu, þe seo cirice mid awreðed wæs, 7 on þære styðe stóndende forðferde ymb feowertyno ger, þæs þe he biscop wæs, ærran dæge Kalendarum Septembrium. Lædde mon his lichoman to Lindesfarena eá, 7 in broðra lictune wæs bebyrged. Þa wæs æfterfylgendre tide, mid þy þær mare cirice getimbred wæs 7 in Scē Petres noman
p. 544. þæs aldorapostoles wæs gehalgod, þæt heo his bán úpp adydon 7 in þa cirican in suþhealfe þæs wigbedes asetton æfter arwyrðnesse swa micles biscopes. Æfter him fylgde in þone biscophad Fiinan, se wæs eac from Hií Scotta mynstre 7 ealonde sended, 7 longe tiid biscop wæs.

Þa gelomp æfter unmonegum gearum, þætte Penda Mercna cyning cwom mid Mercna here in þa stówe, 7 all þa ðæ he meahte, mid iserne 7 fyres lége fornom 7 forleas, 7 swylce eac þone tún, þe se biscop in forðferde, ætgædre mid þa gemyndgedan cirican fýre forbærnde. Ac wundorlice gemete þa studu áne, þe se biscop onhleoniende forð-ferde, þæt fýr gretan ne meahte. Þa þis wundor þus gecyðed wæs, timbrede mon hraðe eft þa cirican 7 þa ilcan studu útan tógesette to trymnesse þæs wages, swa swa heo ær wæs. Eft gelomp æfter tida fæce þurh ungemænne synne, þætte se ilca tún forborn 7 seo ilce cirice ætgædre wæs mid fýre fornumen. Ac hwæðre se leg þa ilcan stúdu gehrinan ne meahte, 7 mid micle wundre, þætte se lég þurhæt þa næglas in þæm þyrelum, þe heo mid þæm to þæm timbre gefæstnad wæs, 7 hwæðre þa stuðo sceðþan ne meahte. Þa tim-brode mon þriddan siðe þa cirican þær; 7 þa ilcan studu nales swa swa ær uton togesetton to trymnesse þæs huses, ac in gemynd þæs wundres in þa ciricon setton, þætte þa ingongendan þær heora cneo begean scolden 7 him heofonlicre mildheortnesse wilnian 7 secan. Ond þæt cuð is, þætte monige of þære tiide in þære ilcan stówe hælo gife onfengon. Ge eac swylce of þære ilcan styðe spónas þweoton 7 sceafþan nomon, 7 in wæter sendon 7 untrumum drincan sealdon, 7 monigra úntrymnessa læcedomas onfengon.

l. 11. *Hií* (accents later?) T. Hií O. Ca. *Hibernia* B. *sended wæs* T. B.: but B. inserts *of heora* before *ealande*. l. 21. *þurh* B. *þur* T. l. 24. *pur*^{h}*æt* B. *burh* T. l. 29. *heofonlicre* B. *-rice* T.

up a tent fastened to the west side of the church. And it happened, when he was about to die, that he took hold of the buttress, which supported the church, and leaning on that so died, in the fourteenth year of his episcopate, on the last day of August. His body was carried to Lindisfarne and buried in the cemetery of the brethren. And at a later time, when a larger church was built there and consecrated in the name of the chief apostle St. Peter, they took up his bones and laid them in the church, on the south of the altar, as was due to so great a bishop. Finan followed him in the episcopate; he too was sent from Iona, a monastery and island of the Scots, and was a long time bishop. After not many years it happened that Penda, king of Mercia, came with a Mercian host to that place, and ruined and destroyed all he could with fire and sword, and burnt also the village where the bishop died, along with the church we have mentioned. But in a wonderful way the fire could not touch the buttress alone, on which the bishop leant when he died. Now when the story of this marvel was made known, the church was quickly rebuilt and the same buttress set up without, to support the wall as before. Again after a time it happened by sinful carelessness, that the same village was burnt down, and the same church along with it, was destroyed in the fire. Yet the flame might not touch this buttress, but very wonderfully the flame eat through the nails in the nail holes, by which it was fastened to the edifice, and still might not injure the buttress. Then the church was built a third time on that spot; and the buttress was not placed as before outside to support the building, but in memory of the miracle, they put it in the church, that those who entered might there bow the knee, and desire and seek for themselves the mercy of heaven. And it is well known, that many from that time received the grace of healing at that spot. They also cut off chips from the same buttress and took shavings, and put them in water and gave them to the sick to drink, and they obtained remedies against many infirmities.

[1](Soðlice þis ic wrat be þam weorcum þæs foresprecenan weres
p. 545. ac me swa þeah no ne licede on hím, *þæt* he þa weorþuncge Eastrena on riht ne heold ne nyste; ac ic hit swiðe onscunede, swa swa ic on þære bec, þe ic worhte *de temporibus*, swiþe sweotole gecyðde. Ac ic, swa swa soðsagal stærwritere, þa þing, þe be him oððe þurh hine gewordene wæron, ic awrat, 7 þa þing þe herunge wyrðe wæron, ic herede. He hæfde swiðe micle geornnesse sibbe 7 soðre lufan 7 forhæfdnesse 7 eaðmodnesse. Næfde he on him naðer ne yrre ne oferhyd ne gytsunge, ne idel gylp *him* on ne ricsade. He hæfde þa gleawnesse Godes bebodu to healdanne 7 to læranne; 7 he hæfde þa geornfullnesse haligu gewritu to rædanne 7 wæccean tó beganganne; 7 he hæfde sacerde gerisene ealdorlicnesse þa ofermedan to þreageanne 7 þa weligan; 7 he hæfde mildheortnesse þa untruman 7 þa þearfendan mid to frefregenne. Swa swa ic nu æt feawum wordum secge, be þon þe þa sædon þe hine cuþon, *þæt* of eallum þon, þe on halgum bocum beboden is to healdanne, he nowiht to gymeleste ne forlet, ac he hit eall, swa forð swa he mihte, hæfde gelæste. Ðas þing ic on þam foresprecenan bisceope swiþe lufie, forðan ic nó ne tweoge *þæt* hi Gode liciað. Ðæt he þa Eastran on hiora rihttíd ne heold, forðon þe oððe he hiora gesetton tíde nyste oððe, þeah þe he wiste, for þære ealldorlicnesse his agenre þeode he hire ne gymde, ic no ne herige. On þara [illegible]strana mærsunge swa þeah he nowiht oðres ne ne gelyfde, ne ne weorðode ne ne bodode, buton *þæt* ylce *þæt* we, *þæt* is þa alysnesse monna cynnes þurh þrowunge 7 þurh æriste 7 þurh úpstige on heofonas þæs midligendes Godes 7 monna, monnes Hælendes Cristes. Ne heold he no þa Eastran, swa swa sume men wenað, mid Iudeum on feowertynenihtne mónan gehwylce dæge on wucan, ac a symle on Sunnandæge fram feowertynenihtum monan oð twentigesnihtne, for þam geleafan þære Dryhtenlican æriste, þa æriste he gelyfde on anum þara restedaga

l. 1. *soðlice* to end of chap., not in T. B. Text from O. *we,rcum* O. *weorcum* Ca. l. 2. *swa* C. *se* O. *seo* Ca. l. 6. *herunge wyrðe* (*u* out of *o* by erasure of top; *ðe* on erasure) O. *her on wyrðe* Ca. l. 8. *næfde he* Ca.; O. has the words in margin and not first hand. Not in C. l. 9. *gylp*, O. *gylp hī* Ca. *him* not in C. l. 12. *hæfde* Ca. *hæfðe* (with cross stroke

ve written thus about the works of the aforesaid man. Still
t approve of this in him, that he did not rightly hold or
ne celebration of Easter; but I objected to it strongly, as
clearly showed in the book which I composed, De tem-
But I, as a truthful historian, wrote what was done
im or through him, and praised what deserved praise. He
ry earnest for peace and true love, for temperance and
ty. There was in him neither anger nor pride nor covetous-
or had idle boasting any hold on him. He was wise in
g and teaching God's ordinances; he was zealous in reading
cripture and in keeping vigils. He had authority befitting
t to check the arrogant and powerful; he was compassionate
nforting the sick and needy. To declare in a
s said by those who knew him, of all that
books to be kept, he allowed nothing to b
filled all, as far as he had power. This the
aforesaid bishop, not doubting that it is
ght. But that he did not keep Easter a
not knowing its appointed season, or, thoug
rding it owing to the authority of his own
approve. However in celebrating Easter he
esteemed, nor preached anything else than we do, that is, the
nption of mankind by the passion, resurrection and ascension
r Saviour, the man Christ, the Mediator between God and man.
id not keep Easter, as some imagine, in agreement with the
on the fourteenth night of the moon on any day of the week,
ways on Sunday, from the fourteenth night of the moon up
twentieth night, from belief in our Lord's resurrection,
he believed to have been on one of the days of rest, and also

ased) O. l. 14. *þearfendan* (second *e* out of *a*) O. *ðearfan* Ca.
O. *swa* Ca. l. 26. *midligendes* C. *midli,gendes* O. *lifigendan* Ca.
: erased in O. but traceable: not in Ca. l. 28. *iudēum*, (letter
er *m*) O. *iudēum on* (sic) Ca. *nihtne mónan* (the second stroke of
monan on erasure) O. *nihte monan* Ca. l. 29. *ac* Ca.: not in
31. *æriste* (*i* out of *e*) O. *æriste* Ca.

beon gewordene, 7 eac for þam hyhte ure towearðan æris
on anum þara restedaga, se nu Sunnandæg is nemned
towearde mid þære halgan 7 mid þære rihtgeleaffullan geso
gelyfde.)

Cap. 18. Þissum tidum Eastengla rice æft*er* Eorpwalde Rædwaldes
fylgende Sigeberht his broðor fore wæs. Wæs he god man 7
se ær in Gallia rice fulwihtes bæðe onfeng, þa he þær wrecca
Rædwaldes feondscipe fleah. Ond sona þæs þe he eft on his eðel
ond rice onfeng, þa wilnade he liif onhyrgan, þe he wel geseted
in Gallia rice. ond he scole gesette, in þære cneohtas 7 geongc
p. 546. tylde 7 lærde wæron; 7 him fultmade Felix se biscop, þone
Cent onfeng. Gesette he magistras 7 lare æft*er* Contwara
Ond swa swiðe se cyning wæs geworden lufiend þæs heof
rices, þæt he æt nyhstan forlet þæt eorðlice rice, 7 his
Ecgberhte bebead, 7 in mynster eode, þæt he him seolf ær geti
7 sceare onfeng 7 ma gemde for þam ecan rice to compienn

Þa he þæt þa longe tiid dyde, þa gelomp þætte Penda
cyning teah here 7 fyrd wið Eastengle 7 þider to gefeohte
Þa heo þa hie in þæm gefeohte neoþor gesegon 7 ræssan weo
heora feondum, þa bædon heo Sigeberht, þæt he mid him cw
to þæm gefeohte heora compweorod to trymmanne. Þa ne w
he ac wiðcwæð, þa tugon heo hine nydinga of þam my
7 læddon on þone here. Wendon heo þæt heora compweorodes
þy unforhtre beon sceolde, 7 þy læs fluge for his andweardn
forðon he wæs ær se fromesta heretoga. Ac he wæs gemy
his ondetnesse 7 his gehata, þe he Gode geheht. Þa he wæs
þy unmætan weorode ymbhæfd, ne wolde he oðer wæpen nem
gyrde him on honda habban; ond he wæs ofslegen mid Ecgri
cyninge, 7 eall heora weorod oðþe geslegen oððe geflyme
Wæs æft*er*fylgend his rices Anna geworden Eanes sunu
cyningcynne; wæs god monn 7 þæs betstan tudres * cen
ðon her æft*er* in heora tiid is to secgenne. Ond he seolfa æ

l. 5. T. marks beginning of chapter by illumination, etc., as usual
7 *eft oðer cwide*. O. has coloured initial. B. has blank for Ð.

V
(RIC).
46336

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Dr. Rani Karur
on 12 April, 2019